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THE MALAKMALAK LANGUAGE,
DALY RIVER (WESTERN ARNHEM LAND)

by

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SUMMARY

This study describes the phonology and grammar of MalakMalak, an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by a dwindling number of speakers on the Daly River, Western Arnhem Land, about one hundred miles southwest of Darwin.

The Introduction outlines the geographical location and linguistic classification of the language, reviews previous descriptive work and explains the orientation of the present description.

Chapter 1 describes the Phonology of MalakMalak in terms of phonemes, syllables, phonological words and phonological phrases. There are fourteen consonant phonemes and five vocalic phonemes. One hundred and three two-consonant and twenty-nine three-consonant clusters have been attested, but no vocalic ones. Diphthongs have been interpreted as [V+glide], and a sandhi rule operates to handle vocalic contiguity across word-boundaries within the Verb Complex. There are two types of phonological word according to stress-placement, and there is a variety of phonological phrases defined by intonation pattern.

Chapter 2 defines and describes the Word Classes which have been set up for the language. They are: noun, adjectival, pronoun, deictic specifier, adverb, particle, interjection, verb root, auxiliary.

Chapter 3 describes the morphology of the Auxiliary and the Verb Root, the Noun and the lexical Adjective, which together constitute the most productive areas of the grammar.

Chapter 4 describes the sentential syntax of MalakMalak, the syntax of the Verb Complex and Verb Complex complementation, and the syntax of the Noun Phrase.

Three MalakMalak texts are included in an appendix with interlinear and free translations.

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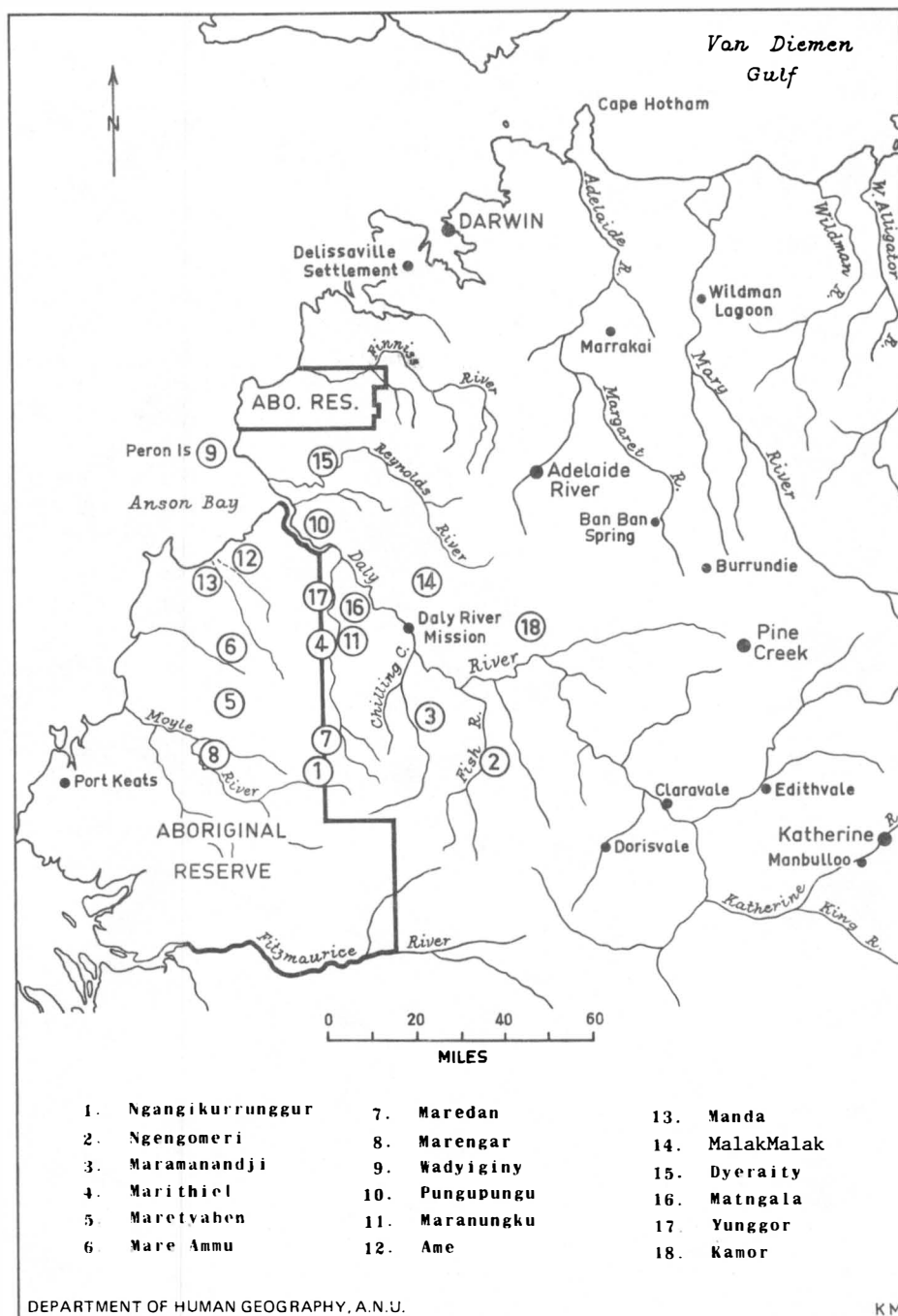
I acknowledge here the help given to me by the Department of the Northern Territory in Darwin and the Darwin Catholic Mission, and finally the Australian National University without whom this research would not have been possible.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| A | adjective | int | intensive |
| adv | adverb | intr | intransitive |
| ag | agentive | intrg | interrogative |
| av | adversative | iter | iterative |
| Aux | auxiliary | loc | locative |
| bf | benefactive | m | masculine concord |
| caus | causative | neg | negative |
| clf | classifier | NP | noun phrase |
| cnt | continuative | O | object |
| comit | comitative | oblig | obligative |
| comp | comparative | P | pronoun |
| cpt | complement | pl | plural |
| dc | deictic suffix | poss | possessive |
| desid | desiderative | possib | possibility |
| dl | dual | pres | present |
| dml | dual marker | progr | progressive |
| dm | demonstrative | propr | propriative |
| dpr | "departing from" affix | ptcl | particle |
| ds | deictic specifier | ptcpl | participle |
| dub | dubitative | punct | punctiliar |
| e | silvan/elemental concord | purp | purposive |
| emph | emphatic | qf | quantifier |
| ex | exclusive | rbl | resemblance marker |
| f | feminine concord | recip | reciprocal |
| foc | focal suffix | rs | reduced sentence |
| fut | future | S | subject |
| ic | inclusive | sequ | sequential |
| imp | imperative | sfm | sentence-final marker |
| inj | interjection | sg | singular |
| inst | instrumental | ss | spatial specifier |

| | |
|--|--|
| subj | subjunctive |
| tr | transitive |
| trm | terminal |
| ts | temporal specifier |
| v | vegetative concord |
| VC | verb complex |
| VR | verb root |
| cardinal numbers 1-3 (preceding sg/pl/ic/ex/dl) | person indicators |
| cardinal numbers 1-6 (preceding tense) | conjugations |
| [] | delimits sentence/phrase under discussion |
| () | indicates optionality only when enclosing a word class |
| { } | indicates that at least one of the enclosed must be chosen |
| . | indicates that the elements between which it occurs are bound |
| > | becomes: |
| . . . | indicates inexhaustive listing |

The use of raised ⁱ and ^u as the phonetic convention for fronted and rounded glides, respectively, follows Pike (1947, p.45, fn.1). Other phonetic conventions also follow Pike (1947).



INTRODUCTION

0.1. THE MALAKMALAK PEOPLE

MalakMalak is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by a dwindling number of Aboriginals on the Daly River, Western Arnhem Land, about one hundred miles south-west of Darwin. There are currently not more than twenty speakers for only nine of whom is it the mother-tongue. The outlook for the language is bleak. Seven of these nine are a family of unmarried brothers and sisters who appear resigned to the celibacy demanded of them by their late mother. The eighth is the aged father of the family. The ninth is Solomon, the son of my original informant, the late Harry Put^yPut^y. The former is himself ageing and unwell and his ten year old son speaks rather more English than MalakMalak.

Historically, MalakMalak territory is situated on the north side of the Daly River, with the boundary about sixty miles from the mouth (Stanner 1933; Capell 1963). Most of the surviving speakers live on the north side at Wooliana. Stanner's topographical description of the Daly River (op. cit. pp.380, 385) estimates the area of Aboriginal habitation to have been a "narrow strip of country, less than twenty miles long, on the alluvial flats between the middle and lower reaches of the ... river." It is originally to the MalakMalak that this settled strip of country belonged, according to Stanner (op. cit.). The tribal name of the MalakMalak is Telikan. The language MalakMalak may not in fact be the original appellation. In 1909 Sidney Ray published a short article on a language which he reports Father Conrath, the then resident missionary on the Daly River, as calling Ngolok-Wanggar. This language is unquestionably MalakMalak. It has been suggested (Berndt 1964:37) that MalakMalak was a dubbing by white settlers. The argument of naming by association with the mullock heaps beside which this people were said to have dwelt (Berndt, op. cit.) appears less plausible than the straightforward perversion of *guluk* (from Ngolok-Wanggar) - *guluk* means *language* in MalakMalak - into Mulluk (the customary spelling) by

the substitution of a bilabial for a dorso-velar nasal word-initially.

The truth of the situation will probably never be known, these suggestions being based less on evidence than inference. Even so, the very possibility that the name currently accepted by the speakers of the language (and these show no awareness of any historical change of name) could have been thought of as resulting from the dubbing, whether through association or perversion, by non-native settlers, provides a telling index of the impact of the Europeans and the Chinese on the tribal remnants living on the Daly River.

By Stanner's estimate (op. cit. p.381) the period of intensive copper mining extended from 1895 to 1915. He also estimates the European and Chinese population during this period as numbering well over one hundred.

0.2. LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

MalakMalak is a member of the Daly Family which comprises nine distinct languages and ten dialects (Tryon 1974), as in the table opposite (cp. language map, p.

0.3. PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIVE WORK

The earliest dated linguistic work on MalakMalak is a paper delivered by Rev. Adolph Kristen S.J. at the First Australian Catholic Congress, Sydney, in September 1900. In this paper Kristen presents a short text in an unnamed language and proceeds to parse it. The language is MalakMalak which is also the subject of an undated grammar of 214 pages by Kristen. Again, the language is unnamed and referred to simply as aboriginal language. This work is divided into two parts. Part I is a section of thirty pages on the pronunciation of the language; Part II is mainly concerned with the classification of words and demonstrates that the author had developed a fairly sensitive understanding of the language. But his often keen linguistic intelligence would occasionally enter into conflict with his theological imagination, as in his attempts to relate aboriginal language (*sic*) to Hebrew.

An undated notebook was found among the papers of Rev. Donald MacKillop, S.J. in which several MalakMalak conjugation paradigms are listed with a high degree of accuracy.

W. Schmidt (1902 p.104) quotes some examples from MalakMalak. S.H. Ray (1909) gives some morphological notes and a wordlist of sixty-eight items based on an interview with Father Conrath of the Daly River Mission. Capell and Elkin (1937) list adjectival and pronominal concord classes. Capell (1937) mentions the pronominal system once more. Capell (1940) discusses MalakMalak noun classes and gives a wordlist of nineteen items.

FAMILY:

DALY

GROUP:

Malak

Brinken-Wogaity

Tyemer1

SUB-GROUP:

Malak

Daly

Brinken

Maranunggu

Wogaity

Tyemer1

LANGUAGE:

MalakMalak

Matngala

Marengar

Maranunggu

Pungupungu

Ngangikurrunggurr

Dyeraity

Maramanandji

Marithiel

DIALECT:

Matngala

Marithiel

Maranungku

Pungupungu

Mgangikurrunggurr

Yunggor

Maretyaben

Ame

Wadyiginy

Ngengomer1

Kamor

Mare Ammu

Manda

Batyamal

Maredan

Tryon (1968) in his survey of all the languages constituting the Daly Family gives a ninety-five item wordlist. Tryon (1970a) discusses noun classification and adjectival concord in MalakMalak (and other Daly River languages). Tryon (1970b) gives a brief structural sketch of MalakMalak while Tryon (1974) gives a more expanded structural sketch of the language primarily for the purpose of its comparison with other members of the Daly Family.

0.4. DESCRIPTIVE ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

This study describes the basic phonological and grammatical facts of MalakMalak, based on material collected over the period from July 1971 to April 1972 and from April to August 1973. In presenting these facts the aim has been to describe the language on its own terms as far as this is possible. That is to say, it was deliberately decided to let the nature of the language itself determine, for the most part, the form of the description. This description has not, therefore, been cast in any particular theoretical mould. While acknowledging the theoretical limitations of this approach it must be stated that the orientation of this work is not towards linguistic theory - that is something to be left for subsequent research.

Chapter 1 describes the Phonology of MalakMalak in terms of phonemes, syllables, phonological words and phonological phrases.

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 the essentials of the grammar are presented in a function-oriented way. Chapter 2 defines and described the Word Classes and their functions. Chapter 3 describes the grammatical core of MalakMalak in that it describes the morphology of the auxiliary and the verb root, the noun and the lexical adjective, which together constitute the most productive areas of the grammar.

0.4.1. The auxiliary is a free form occupying a role of crucial importance within sentence structure, as encoder of person, number, tense, mood and aspect. The free subject NP is repeated within the Verb Complex as a subject person marker prefixed to the auxiliary. The free object NP is repeated within the Verb Complex as an object pronoun suffixed to the auxiliary. The verb root and the auxiliary constitute the nucleus of the Verb Complex (see 4.1.3.) which can be expanded by the addition of an adverb.

The auxiliary comprises six conjugations, five of which have, as well as the grammatical functions already cited, both a semantic and a deictic function. The exception is Conjugation 1 (see 3.1.1.).

Conjugation 2 has the semantic function of 'movement'

Conjugation 3 has the semantic function of 'movement'

Conjugation 4 has the semantic function of 'sitting'

Conjugation 5 has the semantic function of 'lying'

Conjugation 6 has the semantic function of 'standing'

The deictic function divides these five conjugations into two groupings: Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 carry the deictic meaning 'far away from the speaker'; Conjugations 4 and 6 carry the deictic meaning 'in the vicinity of the speaker'. The auxiliary, its functions and affixes are discussed in sections 3.1.1. to 3.1.9. (inclusive).

0.4.2. The Verb Root has the role of 'lexical' verb and, except when functioning as a reduced sentence (see Chapter 4, example 427), as a Verb Complex complement (see 4.1.4.1.(a)) or as a Positive Imperative (see 4.1.6.1.(b)), it is accompanied within the Verb Complex by an Auxiliary. When they occur together the Verb Root almost always precedes the Auxiliary.

There are, however, constraints operating on the co-occurrence of certain Verb Roots with certain Auxiliary Conjugations (see 4.1.7.). It has not been possible, at this stage, to formulate any satisfactory explanatory hypothesis for the existence of these constraints.

0.4.3. MalakMalak is a multiple classifying language (Capell 1940) which classifies Nouns into four classes (see 3.2.6.): (1) plants and vegetable foods; (2) animals hunted for meat; (3) trees; (4) a residual class including everything else.

There is a system of adjective/noun concord for a closed set of seven adjectives (see 3.2.7.) which reflects not the noun classes but the four prefixed third singular person-markers within the auxiliary paradigm (see 3.1.1. - 3.1.6.).

0.4.4. Chapter 4 is entitled Syntax, but syntactic functions are at least implicit in the descriptions of both the Word Classes and the Morphology. The sentential syntax of MalakMalak is relatively simple. With the exception of Conditionals (see 4.1.2.1.) there is no formal marking of co-ordination and subordination. These relations are indicated by the juxtaposition of sentences (see 4.1.2.). Following the sentential syntax, Chapter 4 goes on to describe the syntax of the Verb Complex (see 4.1.3.; 4.1.5.; 4.1.6.; 4.1.7.) and Verb Complex Complementation (see 4.1.4.) and the syntax of the Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.; 4.1.9.).

Three texts are appended, with interlinear and free translations, further to illustrate the points discussed in the grammar.

CHAPTER 1

THE PHONOLOGY OF MALAKMALAK

1.1. CONSONANTS

There are fourteen consonantal phonemes: four stops p t t^Y k , four nasals m n n^Y η , two laterals l l^Y , one vibrant (flapped) \check{r} , one continuant r , and semi-consonants w y .

1.1.0. Consonantal Contrasts

1.1.1. The Stops contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| pak | <i>sit</i> |
| $tu\check{r}k$ | <i>drink</i> |
| $t^Yu\check{r}k$ | <i>bury</i> |
| kak | <i>hurt</i> |

Word-medial examples:

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| $apap$ | <i>sick, tired</i> |
| $mata$ | <i>rain</i> |
| mat^Yan | <i>foot</i> |
| $akak$ | <i>vomit</i> |

Word-final examples:

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------|
| pap | <i>rush</i> |
| pat | <i>fly</i> |
| pit^Y | <i>rub firesticks together</i> |
| pik | <i>rope</i> |

1.1.2. The Nasal Phonemes m n n^Y η are voiced and contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| man | <i>stomach</i> |
| nan | <i>that</i> (demonstrative) |
| n ^y atn ^y at | <i>chip wood</i> |
| natnat | <i>be unable to fix something</i> |

Word-medial examples:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| aman | <i>now</i> |
| pön ^y ö | <i>banyan</i> |
| paŋa | <i>father</i> |
| pana | <i>again</i> |

Word-final examples:

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| pam | <i>put</i> |
| ŋan | comparative particle |
| tin ^y | <i>try</i> (adverb) |
| taŋ | <i>mix</i> (intr) |

1.1.3. The Lateral Phonemes are voiced and contrast at apico-alveolar and lamino-alveolar points of articulation.

Word-medial examples:

| | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| yilik | <i>lily-root</i> |
| yil ^y i | <i>bubble</i> |

Word-final examples:

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| ŋul | <i>penis</i> |
| nul ^y | <i>sea-breeze</i> |

Of the two lateral phonemes only the apico-alveolar can occur word-initially.

1.1.4. The Vibrant (flapped) ʀ is apico-alveolar contrasting with the semi-consonant post-alveolar frictionless Continuant r:

Word-medial examples:

| | |
|------|--------------|
| miʀi | <i>sun</i> |
| miri | <i>tears</i> |

Word-final examples:

| | |
|-----|--------------|
| taʀ | <i>bite</i> |
| tar | <i>crush</i> |

Neither ʀ nor r occur in word-initial position.

1.1.5. The Semi-Consonants w and y are voiced and contrast at the bilabial and lamino-palatal points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:

| | | | |
|------|-------|------|-------|
| wapi | take | walk | stone |
| yipi | leave | yalk | moon |

Word-medial examples:

| | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| tawut | blood | t ^y eyö | shark |
|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|

1.1.6. Consonantal Variants

/p/ [p] (i) voiceless bilabial stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

| | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------|
| payak | [pay ^h ak] | back |
| larap | [lar ^h ap] | bind |

(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased¹ allophones alternate:

| | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------|
| tap | [tap ~ ta ^p] | grab |
|-----|--------------------------|------|

[b] voiced bilabial stop, occurring intervocalically, and following voiced consonants:

| | | |
|---------|-----------------------|----------|
| tapak | [tab ^h ak] | break |
| tumpuřk | [tumbuřg] | hiccough |

/t/ [t] (i) voiceless apico-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally, and following a voiceless consonant:

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| tat ^y | [ta ⁱ t ^y] | hit |
| tat | [tat] | see/find |
| tiktat | [tik ^t t ^h at] | look back |

(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------|
| t ^y eyöt | [t ^y eyöt ~ t ^y eyöt ^t] | red kangaroo |
|---------------------|---|--------------|

[d] voiced apico-alveolar stop, occurring intervocalically, and following voiced consonants:

| | | |
|-------|---------------------|------------|
| titit | [tidit] | cheeky yam |
| anta | [and ^h] | allright |

/t^y/ [t^y] (i) voiceless lamino-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| t ^y iyit ^y | [t ^y iyit ^y] | pick up |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|

(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:

| | | |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|
| yinmeyit ^y | [yinmeyit ^y ~ yinmeyit ^t] | little (plm) |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|

- [dʸ] voiced lamino-alveolar stop, occurring intervocalically, and following voiced consonants:
- | | | |
|---------|-----------|--------------------|
| atʸaŋ | [adʸaŋ] | <i>grandmother</i> |
| yentʸir | [yendʸir] | <i>dew</i> |
- /k/ [k] (i) voiceless dorso-velar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:
- | | | |
|-----|-------|-------------|
| kak | [kak] | <i>hurt</i> |
|-----|-------|-------------|
- (ii) word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:
- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| mintʸitak | [mindʸidak ~ mindʸida ^k] | <i>emphatic pronoun</i> |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
- [g] voiced dorso-velar stop, occurring intervocalically, and following voiced consonants:
- | | | |
|--------|----------|-----------------|
| kakak | [kagak] | <i>long way</i> |
| pöŋköl | [pöŋgöl] | <i>knee</i> |
- /l/ voiced apico-alveolar lateral resonant, occurring word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally:
- | | | |
|--------|----------|---|
| lak | [lak] | <i>eat (meat)</i> |
| tʸölöl | [tʸölöl] | <i>go down (both RECEDE (OF WATER) and DESCEND)</i> |
| palpal | [palbal] | <i>wide</i> |
- [ɬ] velarized lateral, conditioned by an immediately preceding high open back rounded vowel, occurring, either by itself or as the first member of a cluster whose second member is the voiced dorso-velar stop [g]:
- | | | |
|------|--------|----------------------|
| kul | [kuɬ] | <i>stab (turtle)</i> |
| mulk | [muɬg] | <i>bamboo</i> |
| pulk | [puɬg] | <i>baby chicken</i> |
- /y/ [i] Fronted on- or off-glide:
- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|
| yalk | [i ^h alg] | <i>moon</i> |
| yöyö | [i ^h ö ⁱ ö] | <i>he stands up/lies down (see 3.1.5.; 3.1.6.)</i> |
| ey | [e ⁱ] | <i>spear (verb root)</i> |
- /w/ [u] Rounded on-glide:
- | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------------|
| walk | [u ^h alg] | <i>stone</i> |
|------|----------------------|--------------|

1.2. VOWELS

There are five vocalic phonemes in MalakMalak:

| | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|
| /i/ | high close front unrounded |
| /ɛ/ | mid open front unrounded |
| /ö/ | mid close retracted front unrounded |
| /a/ | low open central unrounded |
| /u/ | high open back rounded |

1.2.1. Vocalic Contrasts

| | |
|--------|--|
| mi | food (non-meat) |
| tɛ | meat |
| tö | hole |
| ma | wallaby |
| mu | goose |
| yɛlik | liver |
| yöyöwa | 3sgmSP.5/6 (Pres) he lies down/stands up |
| yuyuwa | 3sgmSP.5/6 (Pres) he lay down/stood up |
| larap | bind |

All vowels have slightly nasalized allophones between nasals:

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| nimpit | [nĩmbit] | swag |
| mɛŋkit | [mɛ̃ŋgit] | white cockatoo |
| möntöl | [mö̃ndöl] | shoulder |
| ŋan ^y | [ŋǎn ^y] | bush cucumber |
| ŋun | [ŋũn] | deictic specifier |

1.2.2. Vocalic Variants

| Phoneme | Allophone | Description | Examples |
|---------|-----------|---|--|
| /i/ | [i] | High close front unrounded vocaloid occurring as the norm of the phoneme. | mi [mi] food pi [pi] go |
| | [ɪ] | High open front unrounded vocaloid occurring in un- stressed syllables. It occurs as carrier of primary stress only when immediately preceded, or immediately fol- lowed, by a fronted on-glide, e.g. yin ^y a [i ⁱ ln ^y a] (initiated) man, piyip [pɪ ⁱ ip] sick. | yinlin [yĩnlɪn] nose tirin [tɪĩrlɪn] turtle |
| | [e] | Mid close front unrounded vocaloid occurring only in the following stressed syllable:- | pi! [pe!] go! (Verb Root imperative) |

| Phoneme | Allophone | Description | Examples |
|---------|-------------------|---|--|
| /ɛ/ | [ɛ] | Mid open front unrounded vocoid and the norm for this phoneme. | tɛ [tɛ] <i>meat</i> pɛ̃ [pɛ] <i>golden catfish</i> |
| | [ɛ ⁱ] | This allophone of /ɛ/ has a high fronted off-glide occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar stop /t ^y / and the lamino-alveolar nasal /n ^y / | tɛt ^y tɛt ^y [tɛ ⁱ t ^y tɛ ⁱ t ^y] <i>white ant</i> t ^y ɛn ^y [t ^y ɛ ⁱ n ^y] <i>make</i> |
| /ö/ | [ö] | Mid close retracted front unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme. | töm [töm] <i>weak</i> pöpö [pöbö] <i>fan flame</i> |
| /a/ | [a] | Low open central unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme. | ma [ma] <i>wallaby</i> pam [pam] <i>put</i> (p10) |
| | [a ⁱ] | This allophone of /a/ has a high fronted off-glide, occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar consonants /t ^y /, /n ^y /, /l ^y /. | mat ^y an [ma ⁱ d ^y an] <i>foot</i> -man ^y [ma ⁱ n ^y] 'departing from' suffix ŋa ^y il ^y [ŋa ⁱ l ^y il ^y] <i>skin</i> |
| | [ʌ] | Mid open central unrounded vocoid occurring in unstressed syllables. | pana [panʌ] <i>again</i> waka [wagʌ] <i>bring</i> tapak [tabʌk] <i>break</i> |
| | [ʊ] | High open back rounded vocoid and the norm for the phoneme (in unaccented syllables). | puntu [pũndu] <i>head</i> pulu [pũlu] <i>dust</i> |
| /u/ | [ɯ] | Low close back rounded vocoid (found only, so far, in two mono-syllabic lexical items). | mu [mɯ] <i>goose</i> wu [mɯ] <i>barramundi</i> |

| Phoneme | Allophone | Description | Examples |
|---------|-------------------|--|--|
| | [u ⁱ] | This allophone of /u/ has a high fronted off-glide occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar consonants /t ^y / and /l ^y /. | wut ^y [wu ⁱ t ^y] <i>feel around in shallow water (for turtles)</i> nul ^y [nu ⁱ l ^y] <i>sea-breeze</i> |

1.3. THE INTERPRETATION OF GLIDES

The only sequences of vocoids that occur in the language are glides of the form iV, Vi and uV, where i and u are high front unrounded and high back rounded vocoids, respectively; V is any admissible vocoid. The question arises as to whether the i and u are to be interpreted as semi-consonants or as vowels.

The only evidence available for deciding between these two possibilities are the following two classes:

1. the [uⁱl] case; and
2. the [εⁱ] diphthong case.

1. The former case concerns the word [uⁱl] *breast/milk* (which is distinct from [uⁱ] *anger/fight*). The question is whether the vocalic nucleus of [uⁱl] is to be interpreted as a long vowel /i:/ or as a disyllable with an intervocalic lamino-palatal semi-consonant, /ɹ̥/.

There are two arguments against the 'long vowel' hypothesis. Firstly, vocalic length is not systematically phonemic in the language.² Secondly, the word [uⁱl] is disyllabic: there is a perceptible chest-pulse between the two like vowels. Hence, to interpret the fronted on-glide in any way other than as a lamino-palatal semi-consonant would seem to be contrary to the phonetic facts.

2. The [εⁱ] diphthong case concerns the Verb Root [εⁱ] *kill* (potentially or actually) *with a missile* immediately followed by the Auxiliary [aⁱʌ]:

[εⁱ] + [aⁱʌ]

The question is whether the fronted off-glide of [εⁱ] is to be interpreted vocally or semi-consonantly.

The argument against the vocalic interpretation stems from the vowel-elision rule that results from the operation of sandhi (see 1.4.) within the Verb Complex (see fn.4). According to this rule, when vowels are contiguous across word-boundaries the vowel of the vowel-initial word elides the word-final vowel of the preceding word. Thus, if the fronted

off-glide of $[\varepsilon^i]$ is interpreted as a vowel the following should result: $[\varepsilon^i] + [a^i\wedge] > [\varepsilon a^i\wedge]$ (a solution which does not adequately reflect the phonetic facts in that the vocalic sequence $[\varepsilon a^i\wedge]$ does not occur in the language). But if, on the other hand, the fronted off-glide is interpreted as a lamino-palatal semi-consonant the vowel-elision rule cannot apply, and the sequence $[\varepsilon^i] + [a^i\wedge]$ is interpreted as *ey aya*, as is heard in the language.

In review, then, it is clear that if the fronted glides are interpreted as semi-consonants, not only is this nearer to the phonetic facts but syllabic structure is also made neater by the avoidance of uncharacteristic vocalic sequences.

Thus, when occurring word-initially, ι preceded by a fronted on-glide is interpreted as *yi*.

$[\iota^i \iota n^y a] > yin^y a$ (initiated) *man*

Similarly, υ , when occurring word-initially, immediately preceded by a back rounded on-glide is interpreted as *wu*

$[\upsilon^u \upsilon m \upsilon^u a] > wumuwa$ steal³.

1.4. SANDHI

Vocalic contiguity across word-boundaries is handled differently in the language depending upon whether it occurs within or outside the Verb Complex.⁴ Within the Verb Complex sandhi takes place:

1. $pí \quad át.ta \quad > \quad [pat\wedge]$
(VR) *go* (Aux) lexSP.2 (Pres/Past)
We (exclusive) go/went.
2. $tátma \ yi.ta \quad +-a\check{r}in^y \quad [tátma \ yidá\check{r}in^y]$
(VR) *see.cnt* (Aux) 3sgmSP.2(Pres/Past +lsgOP)
He is/was looking at me.
3. $anti \quad eyma \quad wut.ta$
adv (recip) (VR) *spear.cnt* (Aux) 3plSP.2(Pres/Past)
 $[\wedge ndé^i m\wedge \ wút\wedge]$
(Aux) 3plSP.2(Pres/Past)
They fought each other with spears.

In these and similar cases, as a result of the operation of sandhi the vowel of the vowel-initial word elides the word-final vowel of the preceding word, retaining its stress in the process, and a new phonological word is formed. Thus, in the case of both the trisyllabic words $[yidá\check{r}in^y]$ and $[\wedge ndé^i m\wedge]$ primary stress falls on the second syllable⁵ through the process of elision.

Outside of the Verb Complex sandhi does not take place:

4. mí akána [mí ʌgána] ~ mí ákanà [mí ágana]
vegetable food adv (neg) (see 1.6.)
No food.
5. te ářpuřù [te ářbuřù]
meat 1(ic)OP(bf)
Meat for us (inclusive).

1.5. SYLLABLE PATTERNS

The following syllable types occur:

| | | |
|------|------|---|
| V | a.ya | 1sgSP.1(Punct) |
| VC | ak | a species of catfish |
| CV | te | generic marker for animals hunted for meat, and the meat itself |
| CVC | tek | amp |
| CVCC | tuřk | drink (Verb Root). |

1.6. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

The phonological word in MalakMalak is a minimal utterance carrying one primary stress.⁶

There are two types of phonological word defined by the position of the phonological stress. In the one, stress falls on the first syllable and all odd-numbered syllables subsequent to this. In the other case stress falls on the second syllable and all even-numbered syllables subsequent to this.⁷ In the former case, phonological word-boundary immediately precedes primary stress. In the latter case phonological word-boundary recognition is assisted by potential pause and, to a minor degree, phonemic distribution: ɪʸ, ř and r cannot occur word-initially, nor w word-finally.

Word stress carries little functional load in MalakMalak. Primary stress is usually accompanied by raised pitch. In the following examples of individual cases primary stress is marked by (') and secondary stress by (`).

Monosyllabic words carry primary stress:

| | |
|----------|-----------------------|
| tínʸ | pí |
| (adv) go | Try and go! |
| yén | wá |
| yamstick | pick up |
| | Pick up the yamstick! |

Words of two syllables are stressed on the first syllable:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| yóntön | <i>he</i> (Subject Pronoun) |
| t ^y áŋar | <i>spear</i> |
| múyin ^y | <i>dog</i> |
| wúru | <i>arm (or rivulet)</i> |

The only exceptions to this rule are (1) primary stress falls on the phrase-final syllable of yes/no interrogatives and imperatives (see section 1.7.), and (2) where roots are reduplicated, in which case they carry reduplicated primary stress:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| lám ^y lám | <i>talk/have a chat</i> |
| pít ^y pít ^y | <i>rub firesticks</i> |
| wérkwérk | <i>flat-tailed catfish</i> |
| mírmír | <i>melt</i> |
| túytúy | <i>stretch (intr)</i> |

Trisyllabic words are usually stressed on the first and third syllables:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| álawàr | <i>woman</i> |
| mélpapù | <i>father</i> (reference as opposed to address) |
| máparà | <i>follow</i> |
| ákunmàn ^y | <i>where from?</i> |

However, a contrastive stress-pattern may be realized within the trisyllabic phonological word: primary stress may fall on the second syllable, giving the word an emphatic force:

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| akúnman ^y | <i>where from?</i> |
| melpápu | <i>father</i> |
| akána | <i>negative</i> (adverb/adjective) |

If a trisyllabic phonological word in the Verb Complex has a second syllable primary stress this will be a result of sandhi (see 1.4.).

Tetrasyllabic words are usually stressed on the first and third syllables:

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| mút ^y uřwùna | <i>very much</i> |
| múnankàřa | <i>beautiful</i> |
| kárarkwàrat | <i>take a number of objects out (of some container)</i> |

Tetrasyllabic auxiliaries receive primary stress on the second, and secondary stress on the fourth, syllables. This is the only stress-placement possibility for tetrasyllabic auxiliaries in the language:

| | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| wiřfniwà | <i>They will sit</i> |
| nukúttöyùŋ | <i>You (pl) are going to lie down</i> |

| | |
|--------------|--|
| nukútyuwà | <i>You (pl) stood up</i> |
| ṅák aṅkáyawà | <i>You and I eat/ate (non-meat food)</i> |

Pentasyllabic words always take primary stress on the second syllable and secondary stress on the fourth:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| tʸetwéřamàṅkil | <i>fork-stick</i> |
| aṅkíniyàṅka | <i>You and I will stand</i> |
| aṅkónöyùṅka | <i>You and I will lie down</i> |
| wöřónöyùṅka | <i>They will lie down</i> |
| ařkíniyàṅka | <i>We are all going to stand</i> |
| pařárattʸèřat | <i>Get up and stand up (pl subject)</i> |

Heptasyllabic words also always take primary stress on the second syllable, secondary stress falling on the fourth and sixth syllables (in accordance with the rule that every second syllable is stressed):

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| te aṅ wuwúntununuwàkna: | <i>He would have given you (sg) meat.</i> |
|-------------------------|---|

Hexasyllabic words take primary stress on the first syllable, secondary stress on the third and fifth:

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| nǒṅkǒřónöyùṅka | <i>You (pl) will lie down.</i> |
|----------------|--------------------------------|

That is to say, this is regular in terms of the first-syllable and odd-numbered subsequent-syllable stress rule.

Similarly, octasyllabic words take primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on odd-numbered syllables subsequent to this:

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| te aṅ núṅkuřùntuwöřöwàkka | <i>You (pl) would have given them meat.</i> |
|---------------------------|---|

The environment for almost all instances of obligatory second-syllable stress-placement is the Verb Complex (cf. the sandhi phenomenon, 1.4.). For example, the only heptasyllabic words in the language occur as inflected auxiliaries. Pentasyllabic words tend to be either auxiliaries, or Verb Roots such as pařárattʸèřat; pentasyllabic nouns like tʸetwéřamàṅkil are rare.

1.6.1. The Distribution of Phonemes within the Phonological Word

1.6.1.1. Consonant Distribution

Any single consonant except ɪʸ, ř and r may occur word-initially. There are no consonant clusters in the phonological word-initial position.

1.6.1.2. *Two-Consonant Clusters* are unequally divisible into those that occur intra-syllabically and those that occur inter-syllabically. There are seven intra-syllabic consonant-clusters, all of which have a liquid

as initial consonant in the cluster, and ninety-six inter-syllabic⁸ clusters.

Of the clusters that have a stop as the final consonant, fifteen have an initial nasal:

| | |
|---|--|
| tumpuʔk | <i>hiccough</i> |
| lamtɛl | <i>stop (someone doing something)</i> |
| lamt ak | <i>stop (tr)</i> |
| timkut | <i>bury (rubbish etc.)</i> |
| yunpayin | <i>good</i> |
| piyantuk | <i>underneath</i> |
| yent ^y ir | <i>dew</i> |
| alanki | <i>bring back</i> |
| wan ^y pi | <i>paddle (a canoe)</i> |
| man ^y tutma | <i>big crowd (of people)</i> |
| puʔunpuʔun | <i>boil (Verb Root)</i> |
| taŋtat ^y ma | <i>hit repeatedly</i> |
| luŋt ^y ɛʔat | <i>(of bird, with anatomical food-bag) replenish</i> |
| man ^y t ^y ɛtmatan | <i>not produce children</i> |
| pöŋköl | <i>knee</i> |

Five have an initial lateral:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| piłp | <i>slap</i> |
| altak | <i>break (tr)</i> |
| kalt ^y ɛt (puntuna) | <i>carry (on head)</i> |
| yalk | <i>moon</i> |
| tapul ^y p | <i>extinguish fire (with fingers, as opposed to feet)</i> |

Four have a vibrant ʃ as initial consonant:

| | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| t ^y uʃp | <i>cut</i> |
| muʃtuk | <i>hatch</i> |
| muʃt ^y iʃ | <i>trip</i> |
| ŋiʃk | <i>die</i> |

Four have a continuant r as initial consonant:

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| kurpuk | <i>wash</i> |
| lerp | <i>meet (predicated of a large number of persons)</i> |
| t ^y ɛwörtɛl | <i>forget</i> |
| purwart ^y ɛt | <i>get dark</i> |
| purkin | <i>grey kangaroo</i> |
| kark | <i>go up a slope (e.g., a bank)</i> |

Four have a geminated stop sequence:

| | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|
| lup.pi.ma | <i>together.go.continulative</i> |
| at.ta | <i>lex SP.2 (Pres/Past)</i> |

| | |
|---|--|
| kat ^y .t ^y uřkwat | <i>throw.put inside: throw inside</i> |
| lak.kat ^y | <i>eat (meat).throw: leave some meat (when unable to eat more)</i> |

Ten have a heterorganic stop sequence:

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| taptapali | <i>hold on to something moving (animal)</i> |
| tapt ^y iř | <i>drop</i> |
| kumitpuluk | <i>sand goanna</i> |
| yitt ^y εřat | <i>slough skin</i> |
| yitkař | <i>scale (fish)</i> |
| kat ^y puk | <i>might beat (competitively)</i> |
| tat ^y kak | <i>hurt (tr)</i> |
| yikpi | <i>small</i> |
| lamt ^y aktan | <i>try to stop unsuccessfully</i> |
| wakt ^y alkma | <i>waterfall</i> |

Of the remaining clusters that have a nasal as initial consonant, six have semi-consonants as final member:

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| manwiyuk | <i>hungry</i> |
| tat wöwöntönyörö | <i>he/she sees/saw us (exclusive)</i> |
| kin ^y wat | <i>hang (up)</i> |
| man ^y ur | <i>cover</i> |
| t ^y iyaŋwat | <i>send over (e.g., food)</i> |
| kat ^y puk yönpunyorö | <i>he might beat us (ex) (competitively)</i> |

Of the clusters that have a stop as the initial consonant, thirteen have a nasal as final consonant:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| apma | <i>be quiet!</i> |
| tapnö | <i>grab him (male human or animal)</i> |
| tapŋa | <i>grab (something) over there</i> |
| anti tatma | <i>find each other</i> |
| tatnö | <i>find him</i> |
| n ^y atn ^y at | <i>chip wood</i> |
| tutŋa | <i>causative.deictic suffix</i> |
| kut ^y ma | <i>whistle</i> |
| tat ^y nö | <i>hit him</i> |
| wat ^y ŋuru | <i>try</i> |
| ŋakma | <i>eat</i> |
| nanakna | <i>really</i> |
| payakŋarö | <i>beetle</i> |

Eight have a semi-consonant as final consonant:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| tapwapakkat ^y | <i>turn over (tr) (e.g., of a turtle)</i> |
| apyurali | <i>participial form of yur: lie (down)</i> |
| tatwur | <i>be missing</i> |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| tatyur | <i>sleep fitfully</i> |
| yukut ^Y wat | <i>move (e.g., fire) along (to harden newly-cut canoe)</i> |
| kat ^Y yipi | <i>leave behind (tr)</i> |
| yanakwuna | <i>just one</i> |
| wakyen | <i>wet</i> |

Of the remaining clusters that have a nasal as the final consonant, twelve have nasals as initial consonants. (Three of these are geminated sequences which are morphemically glossed in what follows):

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| lamlam.ma | <i>talk (VR).cnt</i> |
| tam.ŋöyat | <i>cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e. in paperbark)</i> |
| manmal | <i>wing</i> |
| ŋun.na | <i>spatial specifier. locative</i> |
| -yinŋa | <i>in/on/beside</i> |
| laŋma | <i>light (antithesis of dark)</i> |
| t ^Y öŋnö | <i>fire-place (lit. belongs to fire)</i> |
| tat ^Y öŋpuŋ.ŋayi | <i>he is going to hit her</i> |
| wan ^Y ma | <i>row or paddle</i> |
| tat yimin ^Y nö | <i>he sees/saw him</i> |
| eyinman ^Y ŋa | <i>nobody</i> |
| t ^Y inn ^Y ukma | <i>water-rat</i> |

Of the remaining clusters that have an initial lateral, four have a nasal as final consonant:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| wilma | <i>swim</i> |
| töŋ | <i>stretch</i> |
| mul ^Y mul ^Y ma | <i>ripe/soft</i> |
| nil ^Y il ^Y ŋa | <i>take bark off in small strips (away from speaker)</i> |

Three have a semi-consonant as final member:

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| nöwölweŋiyen yita | <i>he makes a lot of trouble</i> |
| kalyur | <i>carry</i> |
| t ^Y il ^Y wuŋkali | <i>wrinkled (skin)</i> |

Of the remaining clusters that have a vibrant (flapped) ʔ as initial consonant, three have a nasal as final consonant:

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| paŋmat ^Y | <i>old woman</i> |
| kaŋnilyur | <i>scratch skin so as to break it</i> |
| kaŋöyat | <i>light pipe/cigarette</i> |

One has a lateral as final consonant:

| | |
|--------|--|
| kaŋlak | <i>pick edible meat (worm etc.) out of ground and eat it</i> (e.g., predicated of a bird) |
|--------|--|

Two have semi-consonants as final members:

| | |
|---------|-------------------|
| kuŋwapi | <i>drag along</i> |
| kaŋyit | <i>comb hair</i> |

Of the remaining clusters that have a continuant *r* as the initial consonant, three have a nasal as final consonant:

| | |
|----------|------------------------------------|
| arma | <i>dry (VR)</i> |
| alawarnö | <i>for or belongs to the woman</i> |
| tarniřk | <i>kill (VR) with a missile</i> |

One has a lateral as final consonant:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| man ^y t ^y urlin ^y | <i>bush rope</i> |
|--|------------------|

Two have semi-consonants as final members:

| | |
|-------------|--|
| yarwa | <i>leader (of fighting contingent) or boss</i> |
| alawaryinŋa | <i>beside the woman</i> |

Of the clusters with an apico-alveolar lateral as the second consonant, one has a stop as initial consonant:

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| tat ^y lam | <i>capsize</i> |
|----------------------|----------------|

Two have a nasal as initial consonant:

| | |
|----------|-----------------------|
| lamlam | <i>talk (vb stem)</i> |
| manlapar | <i>lung</i> |

1.6.1.3. Twenty-nine *Three-Consonant Clusters* have been attested. They all occur word-medially across morpheme boundaries. The characteristic pattern is a syllable-final cluster (called an intra-syllabic cluster (see 1.6.1.2.)) followed by any one of the set of consonants permissible as second member of a two-consonant cluster. The typical composition of a syllable-final cluster in this phonological structure is: a liquid followed by a bilabial or dorso-velar stop or, in one instance, a dorso-velar nasal.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| ŋalkpak | <i>sit down when full up with food</i> |
| tarnalktarnalk | <i>bump into someone</i> |
| ŋalkt ^y et | <i>stand up when full up with food</i> |
| t ^y alkma | <i>fall</i> |
| tɛlkŋa | <i>singe hair from animal (away from speaker)</i> |
| ŋalkwukut ^y | <i>fill (lot of people) with food</i> |
| t ^y alkyur | <i>bend over</i> |
| t ^y irkt ^y et | <i>join (VR) (e.g., two bits of wood)</i> |
| kɛrkkat ^y | <i>startle</i> |
| pɛrkma | <i>rest (VR)</i> |
| karkwat | <i>take (e.g., meat) from fire</i> |
| t ^y uřurkyiwařa, tönö | <i>lot of people go into jungle</i> |
| ŋalamuřkma | <i>swear, curse</i> |
| aŋuřkna | <i>half-way</i> |
| tuřkwat | <i>swallow</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| t ^y uŕkyiwaya, tönö | <i>one person goes into jungle</i> |
| talptalpma | <i>run along playing</i> |
| kölpt ^y et | <i>roast (a single animal)</i> |
| kölpmā | <i>roast (unmarked for quantity)</i> |
| tapul ^y p | <i>extinguish fire</i> |
| pul ^y pyur | <i>(fire) dies down</i> |
| tölŋma | <i>stretch (VR)</i> |
| lɛrpma | <i>meet, of a large number</i> |
| tuŕppak, (pöŋköl) | <i>kneel down</i> |
| t ^y uŕpteyt ^y | <i>cut off</i> |
| tuŕpkat ^y | <i>dig</i> |
| tuŕpt ^y et | <i>plant (VR)</i> |
| tuŕppam | <i>plant (pl0)</i> |
| mantum töŕpyur | <i>spiked by fin (of catfish)</i> |

1.6.1.4. Vowel Distribution

The vowels /a/ and /ɛ/ may occur word-initially, /i/, /ö/ and /u/ may not. The only other constraints on vocalic distribution are, firstly, that /a/, /ɛ/ and /u/ do not follow /l^y/ and, secondly that there are no vocalic clusters (see 1.3.).

1.7. THE PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE

The phonological phrase consists of phonological words.

There is a variety of phonological phrases defined by the following intonation patterns.⁹

A phrase-final fall in pitch level marks the end of a (non-interrogative) sentence.

A phrase-final high rise in pitch marks the end of a yes/no question. In an information question the interrogative carries a high pitch on its first syllable and primary stress falls on the phrase-final syllable with a concomitant low rise in pitch.

When the phrase-final intonation is no different from the pitch-level of the rest of the phrase, this denotes a sentence-medial phrasal statement. When the phrase-final intonation differs from that of the rest of the phrase only in that it has a low rise contour, this denotes a sentence-medial anticipative intonation.

The imperative intonation is marked by two features. Firstly, it is spoken faster than normal. Secondly, the phrase-final syllable receives primary stress with a concomitant low rise in pitch.

An emphatic negative involves a sharp fall in pitch.

N O T E S

1. A raised consonant represents an unreleased consonant.
2. Only one instance has been recorded in which vocalic length has a distinctive value: kupuk [kubuk] *dive* (predicated of an individual) as against kuwpuk [ku:buk] *dive* (predicated of a number of persons). This is equivalent to the partial reduplication that has a pluralizing function with certain Verb Roots: For example, yur > yurur: *lie down* (predicated of an individual and a number, respectively; see 3.2.4.1.).
3. Further support for the interpretation of the back rounded on-glide as a semi-consonant is provided in the Morphophonemics of Bound Person-Markers (section 3.1.9.) where the occurrence of a back rounded on-glide between the vowels is interpreted as an intrusive bilabial semi-consonant: For example, [ʰöʷöndön] > wöwöntön.
4. The Verb Complex (VC) may be expanded as follows:
 (adverb) {(Verb Root)(Auxiliary)} (object pronoun)
5. See section 1.6., for a discussion of Word Stress.
6. Primary stress falls obligatorily on the second syllable for five- and seven-syllable words and for four-syllable auxiliaries. Second syllable primary stress is optional for trisyllabic words (except where sandhi is involved, in which case it is obligatory).
7. Relative loudness, pitch and length were not measured mechanically in the analysis of stress.
8. More precisely, regarding the latter, what R.H. Stetson (*Motor Phonetics*, 1928) called "abutting consonants".

9. What follows is not an exhaustive statement of the intonation patterns. Much more research into this area of the language is needed before such a statement will be possible.

CHAPTER 2

WORD CLASSES IN MALAKMALAK

"The part of speech reflects not so much our intuitive analysis of reality as our ability to compose that reality into a variety of formal patterns."

(Sapir, 1921)

2.1. THE WORD CLASSES

The following word classes may be set up for the description of the language:

Noun
Adjectival
Pronoun
Deictic Specifier
Adverb
Particle
Interjection
Verb Root
Auxiliary

This section provides a brief introduction to the structure of the language by defining the word classes.

2.1.1. Noun

The noun in MalakMalak can take certain affixes characteristic of the distributional class of words that can occur as subject or object of a sentence.¹

The noun can take the following affixes:

| | | |
|------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| the Possessor suffix | -nö | (section: 3.2.8.) |
| the Benefactive suffix | -nö | (section: 3.2.9.2.) |
| the Intensive suffix | -nö | (section: 3.2.9.1.) |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| the Relator suffix | -nö | (section: 3.2.9.4.) |
| the Comitative suffix | -yen | (section: 3.3.6.) |
| the 'departing from' suffix | -man ^y | (section: 3.3.5.2.) |
| the Locative suffix | -na/-an | (section: 3.3.5.3.) |
| the Locative suffix | -yinga | (section: 3.3.5.1.) |
| the Agentive suffix | -waŋ | (section: 3.3.4.) |
| the Proprietary affix | -mel- | (section: 3.3.3.) |
| the Resemblance suffix | -man | (section: 3.3.1.) |
| the Quantifying suffix | -wuna | (section: 3.3.0.) |
| the Dubitative suffix | -malak | (section: 3.3.2.) |

Nouns can be qualified by an adjectival (see 2.1.2.; 4.1.8.). The latter can be realized as a demonstrative, possessive, or lexical adjective, as a deictic specifier or as a quantifier. If a noun is qualified any adnominal affix (with the exception of -məl- and -malak) is suffixed to the adjectival.

The language classifies nouns into four classes (see 3.2.6.):

1. The generic free classifier *mi* (meaning *non-meat food*) classifies vegetable food;
2. The generic free classifier *te* (meaning *meat food*) classifies both animals hunted for meat and the meat itself;
3. The generic free classifier *t^yöŋ* (meaning *tree/wood*) classifies trees.
4. An unmarked residual class covering all other nouns in the language.

2.1.1.1. *Information Interrogatives* within the Noun Phrase² are non-concordal: they reflect neither noun class nor adjectival concord. They are distinguished in terms of human and non-human referents, each consisting of a root from which other interrogatives can be formed by the addition of an appropriate suffix. Except when qualifying a NP (see examples 3, 5 and 7 below), they occur sentence-initially.

Information interrogatives denoting human referents

[eyin] who?

1. [eyin] pi yita
intrg go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
Who went?

[eyin] + Comitative suffix [-yen]
[eyinyen] who else?

2. [ɛyinyɛn] ka yita
 intrg.comit come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
Who else came?

[ɛyin] + Possessor suffix [-nö]³
 [ɛyinnö] whose?

3. tʰaŋar [ɛyinnö]
 spear intrg.poss
Whose spear?

Information interrogatives denoting non-human referents

[nikita] what?

4. [nikita] ŋakma yita
 intrg eat(veg).cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
What is/was he eating?

5. yawuk [nikita]
 other intrg
What else?

[nikita] + Relator suffix [-nö]⁴
 [nikitanö] what for/why?

6. [nikitanö] ka nunta
 intrg.rel come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
Why have you come?

[nikita] + 'departing from' suffix [-manʸ]
 [nikitamanʸ] what's the matter?

The interrogative quantifier [apuntu] *how many?* is unrestricted as to referents:

7. alalk yinmeyitʸ [apuntu]
 child little(plm) intrg
How many little boys?

8. wu [apuntu]
 barramundi intrg
How many barramundi?

2.1.2. Adjectival

An adjectival (see 4.1.8.) is a word or group of words qualifying a noun or pronoun. It can be realized in the Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.) as

1. a demonstrative adjective (see 2.1.4.3. examples 73/4)
2. a possessive adjective (see 3.2.8.)
3. a deictic specifier (see 2.1.4.)
4. a quantifier (see 2.1.2.1.)
5. a lexical adjective.

Lexical adjectives follow the noun or pronoun they modify and are, with the exception of a small closed set of seven, invariable. These seven (see 3.2.7.) are marked for concord with the nominal that they modify:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| yinali/yikpi | yönörön/yinanki | yunpayln/yinat | yin ^y t ^y εřik |
| <i>big/little</i> | <i>old/new</i> | <i>good/bad</i> | <i>short</i> |

The unmatched *short* is treated by the language as the marked member of the pair *long/short* in so far as it is the one member of the pair that is concordally related to the nominal that it qualifies.

The concordal indices are not an exact reflection of the four-term noun-class system. Rather, the indices are: masculine, feminine, vegetative, and elemental/silvan, reflecting the third singular subject person-markers in the auxiliary paradigm (see 3.1.1. - 3.1.6.; 3.1.8.).

Additionally, with the exception of the pair *old/new*, the concordal adjectives undergo partial reduplication when pluralized.⁵

2.1.2.1. Quantifiers

The numeral adjectives from one to ten are as follows:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| yanakŋa | <i>one</i> |
| weřana | <i>two</i> |
| weřanayena | <i>three</i> |
| weřanweřan | <i>four</i> |
| nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa (<i>hand</i>) (<i>side</i>) | <i>five</i> |
| nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa yanakŋa | <i>six</i> |
| nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa weřana | <i>seven</i> |
| nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa weřanayena | <i>eight</i> |
| nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa weřanweřan | <i>nine</i> |
| nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa nan ^y ilk yanaŋařa | <i>ten</i> |

The ordinal series is formed by preposing *wuru* (lit. *arm*) to the cardinal number:

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| wuru weřana | <i>twice</i> |
|-------------|--------------|

Other quantifiers include the dual marker *wöntöt* which characteristically occurs sentence-finally:

9. pi wutta⁶ wöntöt
to 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm
They both went.
10. yöntön tat^y yimin^ywörö wöntöt
3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3plOP dlm
He hit them both.

However, when modifying the first person inclusive pronoun wöntöt becomes a trial marker:

11. yeřkit mařin^y anti tutma ařtini wöntöt
licSP story adv(recip) caus.cnt licSP.4(purp) dlm
We three are going to tell one another stories.
12. yöntön tat^y yimin^yařpuřu wöntöt
3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).licOP dlm
He hit the three of us.

ařawan is a quantifier glossed as *together*, which can qualify a nominal or a bound subject person-marker (see example 15) in the auxiliary (see 3.1. - 3.1.6.; 3.1.8.).

13. ɣuluk ařawanman
tribe qf.rbl
Like one tribe.
14. parařaŋ ki yeřkit ařawan pi ařta
corpse ds(ss) licSP qf go licSP.2(pres/past)
We all accompany the corpse together.
15. ařawan wöttö
qf 3plSP.4(pres)
They are here together.

eyineyinga is a quantifier glossed as *each/separate*, and is post-posed to the noun that it qualifies:

16. yin^ya alawar eyineyinga
(initiated) man woman qf
Each married couple.

mut^yuř/mut^yuřwuna are quantifiers glossed as *many* and *very much*, respectively, and which can qualify a nominal or a bound person-marked in the auxiliary.

17. alalk mut^yuř
child qf
Many children.

18. alalk mut^yuřwuna
child qf
Very many children.

19. mut^yuřwuna ɲak wöřöntön
qf eat(veg) 3plSP.1(sequ)
They all eat/ate (vegetable food).

akana is an adjectival negative.

20. mi akana
food(veg) (neg)
No vegetable food.

2.1.3. Pronouns

The pronouns of the language are divided into a free set of subject pronouns and a bound set of object pronouns. The latter cover direct and indirect objectivity and pronominal benefactives.

2.1.3.1. The *Subject Pronoun* shares the syntactic possibilities of the noun within the Noun Phrase.

| | | |
|----------|--------|---|
| ɲa | 1sgSP | <i>speaker</i> |
| yawot | 1exSP | <i>speaker and at least one other person (excluding addressee)</i> |
| yaŋki | 1dlSP | <i>speaker and addressee</i> |
| yeřkit | 1lcSP | <i>speaker and at least two other persons (including addressee)</i> |
| waŋari | 2sgSP | <i>one addressee</i> |
| nukut | 2plSP | <i>two or more persons at least one of whom is an addressee</i> |
| yöntön | 3sgmSP | <i>one male person (neither speaker nor addressee)</i> |
| nöntön | 3sgfSP | <i>one female person (neither speaker nor addressee)</i> |
| wöřöntön | 3plSP | <i>two or more persons (neither speaker nor addressee)</i> ⁷ |

The free subject pronoun has two functions in the language. Firstly, because the auxiliary obligatorily carries bound subject pronoun markers, the free subject pronoun is syntactically optional. When it does occur it therefore simply duplicates the bound subject pronoun as a NP in sentence structure.⁸ Secondly, when pre-posed or post-posed to a noun the free subject pronoun conveys inalienable or alienable pronominal possession, respectively (see 3.2.8.).

2.1.3.2. The *Object Pronouns* are bound,⁹ and are suffixed to the auxiliary (or to a Verb Root in the case of a Verb Root imperative with a pronoun object, see 4.1.5.1.).

| | |
|--------------------|--------|
| -ařin ^y | 1sgOP |
| -yöřö | 1exOP |
| -nuŋku | 1dlOP |
| -ařpuřu | 1lcOP |
| -nunu | 2sgOP |
| -nuŋkuřu | 2plOP |
| -nö | 3sgmOP |
| -ŋayi | 3sgfOP |
| -wöřö | 3plOP |

The free object NP is reflected within the Verb Complex by a person- and number-equivalent object pronoun (see 4.1.3.). Conversely, when an object pronoun occurs unaccompanied by a free object NP the former can be optionally anticipated by a free subject pronoun:

21. ηa tat^y $yimin^y ařin^y$
 1sgSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOp
 He hit/hits me.

2.1.3.3. *Emphatic Pronoun* mint^yitak

mint^yitak can occur (1) by itself, or (2) accompanied by a subject pronoun:

22. mint^yitak pakma yita
 emphP sit.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He lives/lived by himself.
23. pi nunta waŋari mint^yitak Darwlnta
 go 2sgSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP emphP Darwin.sfm
 You go/went to Darwin by yourself.

2.1.4. *Deictic Specifiers*

The spatial and temporal specifiers are grouped together semantically in so far as they reflect the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the situation of utterance.

2.1.4.1. *Temporal Specifiers*

Temporal specification is part of the auxiliary, and is obligatorily realized by the tense-marker (see 3.1.1. - 3.1.6.). However, additional temporal qualification of a sentence¹⁰ may be realized by any of the set of temporal specifiers.

Syntactically, a temporal specifier (ts) usually occurs first¹¹ in sentence-structure, and qualifies the entire event referred to by the sentence.

- muta later/afterwards
 24. muta lamlammanöna [ka wuttayöřö wařiyat]
 ts talk.cnt.int.foc come 3plSP.2(pres/past)lexOP meet
Afterwards they come to meet us (excl) to talk.

- aman now
 25. aman pi anuŋka tɛ tʲeyötnö
 ts to lsgSP.2(fut) clf red kangaroo.int
Now I will go for red kangaroo.

- way durative specifier
 26. [way ayuwakna [payka yita]
 ts lsgSP.5(past) appear 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
I was still sleeping when he appeared.

27. way akana yönŋka
 ts adv (neg) 3sgmSP.2(fut)
He won't be long.

- tʲintan(way) habitual specifier
 (This temporal specifier does not always occur sentence-initially)

28. tʲintanway yita ŋakma
 ts 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) eat(veg).cnt
He is always eating.

29. wöttö tʲintan
 3plSP.4(pres) ts
They're still here.

30. tatma tʲintanway yitařinʲ
 see.cnt ts 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).lsgOP
He keeps looking at me.

- nʲuřuŋ Verb Root denoting habitual action
 31. nʲuřuŋma wöřö
 ts.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)
*They lie down all the time (or They are always a long way away.
 (see 3.1.; 3.1.5.))*

When qualifying a transitive action nʲuřuŋ requires a noun-object to carry the suffix -nawuna.¹²

32. waknawuna nʲuřuŋma ylta
 beer.ts ts.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He drinks all the time.

33. *gʷuluknawuna n^yuʃuŋma yita*
story.ts ts.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He tells stories all the time.

A number of the temporal (and spatial) specifiers, although functionally and semantically deictic specifiers, are formally nouns. Thus, the following temporal specifiers are able to take adnominal suffixation and/or adjectival qualification.

- miʃiyen* *during the day*
sun.comit
34. *muta mitiyen lak atöma*
ts sun.comit eat(meat) lsgSP.1(purp)
Later on during the day I am going to eat (meat).
- pent^yi* *yesterday*
35. *pent^yi yawuk*
N(ts) A the other day
- ŋöyö* *tomorrow*
36. *ŋöyö yawuk*
N(ts) A the day after tomorrow
37. *tek yawuknö*
country/camp A.poss next time
38. *nan^yilk yananaʃaman^y*
hand ss.dpf last week
39. *nan^yilk yananaʃa yawuk*
hand ss A next week
40. *nan^yilk yawuk*
hand A next day
41. *yalk yawuk*
moon A next month
42. *puwar.yinŋa*
night.loc morning
43. *yinŋi puwar*
afternoon night evening

2.1.4.1.1. Temporal Interrogative

- amanali when
 44. amanali tikka yönüka
 intrg(ts) back.come 3sgmSP.2(fut)
 When will he return?

2.1.4.2. Spatial Specifiers

Syntactically a spatial specifier (ss) can:

1. modify a sentence (in which case it usually, but not always, occurs sentence-initially);
2. it can qualify a NP post-positionally;
3. it can assume the function of a demonstrative pronoun. A single spatial specifier may combine the functions of 1. and 2.

- gun there
 45. alalk yinmeyit^y pi wutta gun
 child little(plm) 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss
 The little boys go/went there.

46. tek gunna paypi wutta
 camp ss.loc emerge 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 They emerge/emerged at the camp over there.

- katuk yonder
 47. katukan wöŕö
 ss.loc 3plSP.(pres)
 They are over yonder.

Katuk may undergo partial reduplication which has the effect of intensifying the spatial meaning:

48. yin^ya yawuk nat^y katuruk yöyö
 man A ptcl(emph) ss 3sgmSP.5(pres)
 The other man is a very long way away.

Note that katuruk denotes vertical extension when co-occurring with kan^yt^yuk: kan^yt^yuk katuruk : very high.

- ki here
 49. perma ka wutta ki
 rest.cnt come 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss
 They come/came here for the holidays.

50. tikka tek kina
back.come camp ss.loc
Come back to this camp.

- piyantuk inside/underneath
 51. te gunna puřpma nunta piyantukna
meat ss.loc burn(tr).cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc
She cooks/cooked the meat over there inside.

52. antuk piyantuk
house ss
Inside the house.

- aŋuřk halfway
 53. pak wöttö wöntöt aŋuřkna
sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm ss.loc
they both sit down halfway along.

- yananařa ... yananařa this side ... that side
 puŋar middle
 54. [yananařa tatma wutta] [yananařa tatma
ss see.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss see.cnt
 wutta] [puŋařna tatma wuttanö]
3plSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc see.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)3sgmOP
They looked this way; they looked that way; they were in the
middle watching him.

Other spatial specifiers include the following:

ariyinga in front of (an object with an opening)
 mouth.loc

55. antuk ariyinga in front of the house
 pött^yalmiyen in front of a person
breast.straight

56. alawar pött^yalmiyen in front of the woman
 t^yalmiyen ss right/straight
 nan^yilk t^yalmiyen right hand

57. wanķir t^yalmiyen patma yita
crow ss fly.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The crow flies/flew straight.

yanpar left
 nan^yilk yanpar left hand
 t^yaŋķir piyantuk in between [lit. on top, underneath]

58. mi walk t^yankir piyantuk wöyö
 food(veg) stone ss 3sgSP.6(pres)
The food stands between stones.

- waŋkař outside
 59. waŋkař yita
 ss 3sgSP.2(pres/past)
He is outside.

- antawan near
 60. wak antawan near the water

61. antawan yita
 ss 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is nearby.

- kakak far away
 62. kakakman^y ka yita
 ss.dpf come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He had come from far away.

- meřakan first
 63. ŋa meřakan pi anuŋka waŋaři anuntu
 lsgSP ss go lsgSP.2(fut) 2sgSP ss
I will go first, you next.

2.1.4.2.1. Spatial Interrogatives

- akun where?
 64. mi akun möyö
 food(veg) intrg(ss) 3sgvSP.5/6(pres)
Where is the food?

- akun + 'departing from' suffix -man^y
 akuman^y where from?
 65. akunman^y ka nunta
 intrg.dpf come 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
Where have you/do you come from?/Where has she/does she come from?

- akun + Locative suffix -yinŋa
 akunyinŋa how far?
 66. akunyinŋa pi wöröŋun^y
 intrg.loc go 3plSP.2(progr)
How far are they going?

akutena directional interrogative

67. akutena wilma nuntun
 intrg.loc swim 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(purp) (see 3.1.2.)
 Where are you/is she going to swim to?

2.1.4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

ki this one

ɲun that one

68. [ki ɲatal yita] [ɲun tom
 P(dm) strong 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) P(dm) weak
 yita
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 This one is strong; that one is weak.

yawuk (sg) other one

ɲuʃa (pl) other ones

69. [yawuk tɛ tulul yita] [aɲ wöʃöntönnö]
 P(dm) meat dislike 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) give 3plSP.1(sequ)
 The other fellow didn't like the meat they gave him.

70. ɲuʃa watiyaɲ nuntawöʃö
 P(dm) share out 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3plOP
 She distributes/distributed (it) to the others.

katuk that one (yonder)

71. [katukman yönnö akana] [pulit^y kiman
 P(dm).rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg) old man P(dm).rbl
 yöyö akana]
 3sgmSP.5/6(pres) adv(neg)
 *He does not resemble that one sitting down over yonder, nor
 does he resemble this old man lying down/standing up. (see
 3.1.5.; 3.1.6.)*

nan this one/that one

72. mi nannö
 food(veg) P(dm).poss
 The food belonging to that one.

nan can also assume a demonstrative adjectival function:

73. tɛ aɲ wöʃöntön alalk yikpi nanta
 meat give 3plSP.1(sequ) child little(sgm) A(dm).sfm
 They give/gave that little boy meat.

74. alint^yir attawa te papalu nan
 afraid lexSP.(pres/past) clf buffalo A(dm)
We (ex) are/were afraid of that buffalo.

2.1.4.4. The deictic specifiers alimiři and aḡuntu can function in both a temporal and a spatial environment:

alimiři

75. alimiři anti eya wutta
 ts adv(recip) spear.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
They used to spear one another.
76. alimiři pi nuntun
 ss go 2sgSP.2(purp)
You (sg) go first.

aḡuntu

77. anin^y alalk yinmeyit^y aḡuntuman^y t^yeřat
 adv child little(plm) ts.dpf be born(plS see 3.2.4.1.)
 wutyuwakka
 3plSP.6(past).foc
Then subsequently the little boys were born.
78. alalk nikpi t^yöḡ aḡuntu ḡat^ypak nunuwa
 child little(sgf) tree ss hide 3sgfSP.4(past)
The little girl hid behind the tree.

2.1.5. Adverbs

Adverbs modify the Verb Complex (VC) (see 4.1.3.)

numpan perhaps

79. numpan akak yinma
 adv vomit 3sgmSP.2(purp)
Perhaps he'll vomit.

nanak really

80. nanak apap aya
 adv sick 1sgSP.1(punct)
I'm really sick.

wan^yařa slowly

81. wan^yařa pi yita
 adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He goes/went slowly.

- wat^yuř quickly
 82. wat^yuř pi wutta
 adv go 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 They went quickly.
- tayt^yiř properly
 83. tē tayt^yiř ȳöyat aya
 meat adv cook 1sgSP.1(punct)
 I cooked the meat properly.
- anti reciprocal adverb (see 3.2.3.3.)
 84. anti lamlamma wöttö wöntöt
 adv talk.cnt 3plSP.4(pres) dlm
 They are both talking to one another.
85. waŋaři anti waŋkaŋ nöntöma
 2sgSP adv convey 2sgSP.1(purp)
 Your turn to take (it).

- tin^y try to
 86. ȳa tin^y pi atuŋnö
 1sgSP adv go 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP
 I'll try and go to him.
- tin^y can also be used as a form of the positive¹³ imperative.
 87. tin^y tatnö
 adv find.3sgmOP
 Try and find him!
88. tin^y wat^yȳuru nöntöma
 adv attempt(VR) 2sgSP.1(purp)
 Have a try!

- awat¹⁴ Don't! (Negative imperative)
 89. awat teymařin^y
 adv wait.1sgOP
 Don't wait for me!
90. awat pak
 adv sit down
 Don't sit down!

naŋařa desiderative adverb
 naŋařa always immediately precedes the VC, the following auxiliary
 occurring only in the purposive:

- pana iterative adverb
98. pana naman nöntöma
 adv(iter) say 2sgSP.1(purp)
 Say that again.
99. te t^yeyöt [pana t^yeyantak yuyuwa]
 clf red kangaroo adv(iter) hear 3sgmSP.5/6(past)
 He heard the red kangaroo again.

wiřnak terminal adverb : *finished*

This adverb is used to indicate the termination of a series of actions, and occurs sentence-finally:

100. [walk kararkwarat
 stone take out (reduplicated to indicate plural object see 3.2.4.1.)
 wöwöntön [pamyi t^yuřkwat wöwöntön
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) put down.leave put inside 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
 manna] [talwakat^y yöyö] [walk wuřk
 stomach.loc lift 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone put into
 wöwöntön mantulmanan] [yawuk pön^yan
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) heart.loc another(stone) belly.loc
 wuřk wöwöntön] [yawuk t^yinpititan wuřk
 put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ) another(stone) anus.loc put into
 wöwöntön walkka] [wa kölp^tet yuryi
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone.sfm pick up.roast lay down
 wöwöntön tönan] [kuřput wöwöntön wiřnak]
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) hole.loc cover 3sgmSP.1(sequ) adv(trm)
 *He takes out the stones, puts (them) down and leaves (them).
 He puts them inside the stomach [i.e. of a kangaroo about
 to be cooked by means of hot stones]. He lifts the stones
 up and puts one stone in the heart, another in the belly,
 another in the anus. He picks [the kangaroo] up and leaves
 it to roast in a hole, covers it up That's all.*

- akana adverbial negative¹⁵
101. ɣuluk yawötnö [akana lamma wutta]
 language lexSP.poss adv(neg) speak.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 They cannot speak our language.

2.1.5.1. Interrogative Adverbs

aman (plus Conjugation 1 and co-extensive low rise in rise in pitch):¹⁶ *What?*

102. aman aʔtöma
adv(intrg) 1lcSP.1(purp)
What are we going to do?
- amanali How (cf. 2.1.4.1.1.)
103. kurmin^y [amanali t^yen^yma nunta
double hook-spear adv(intrg) make.cnt 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
How do you make a double hook-spear?

2.1.6. Particles

The particle is a set of grammatical words comprising two members.

- nan comparative particle (see 3.2.7.1.1.)
104. t^yaŋar [nan t^yalala]
spear ptcl(comp) long
A longer spear.
105. mi [nan mikpi] aŋaʔin^y
food(veg) ptcl(comp) little(sgv) give.1sgOP
Give me less food.
106. nan lapaʔ wuta
ptcl(comp) light 3sgSP.2(pres/past)
It is a bit lighter.

nat^y. The precise-syntactic function of this particle is not yet entirely clear. However, the fact that it is, in almost all instances, in complementary distribution with the bound focus-markers (see 3.1.9.1.) supports the hypothesis that nat^y has the function of a free emphatic marker. (See note 1 to texts, p.173.)

107. [tek yawuknö akana nat^y] [tek kina nat^y]
camp other.int adv(neg) ptcl(emph) camp ss.loc ptcl(emph)
No other camp; just this camp.
108. nat^y apap wöwöntön
ptcl(emph) sick 3sgSP.1(sequ)
He is sick.
109. [nat^y yawöt wani maparama atta]
ptcl(emph) lexSP dreaming follow.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past)
[waŋari nunta mint^yitakan nunta]
2sgSP 2sgSP.2(pres/past) emph.P.loc 2sgSP.2(pres/past)

[yawöt eyikeyik atta]

lexSP *black* lexSP.2(pres/past)

We just follow our dreamings; you have you own ways. We are black.

2.1.7. Interjections

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| yu | <i>yes!</i> |
| aka | 1. emphatic negative (with co-extensive sharp fall in pitch). 2. emphatic interrogative: <i>What?</i> (with co-extensive high rise in pitch). |
| anta ¹⁷ | <i>all right</i> |
| kukuk | <i>wait/hang on!</i> |
| t ^y en ^y na | an expression of approval. |
| ma | interrogative or imperative interjection (with co-extensive high or low rise in pitch, respectively). |
| wɛya | <i>come here!</i> |

2.1.8. Verb Root

Within the Verb Complex (see 4.1.3.) the Verb Root carries lexical meaning and is able to take the Continuative (see 3.2.1.3.), Intensive (see 3.2.1.1.), and Participial (see 3.2.1.4.) suffixes and the two markers of the modality of possibility (see 3.2.1.2.).

2.1.9. Auxiliary

Within the Verb Complex the Auxiliary carries the grammatical functions of person, number, tense, mood and aspect. Auxiliary Conjugations are discussed in the following chapter.

N O T E S

1. See 4.1.1.
2. NP can be expanded as: {(noun)(pronoun)} (adjectival), (see 4.1.8.).
3. -nö corresponds to what Capell (1956) called a bivalent suffix: in MalakMalak it can be suffixed both to Noun Phrases and Verb Roots. One of the adnominal functions of -nö is to mark the possessor of an alienable possession (see 3.2.8.).
4. Another adnominal function of -nö (see 3.2.9.4.).
5. *Small* constitutes an exception in that the change of shape it undergoes when pluralized is beyond that of reduplication: yikpi > yinmeyit^y.
6. pi wutta comprises a Verb Root (in this case, pi) followed by an Auxiliary (in this case, wutta). The latter carries person, number, tense, mood, and aspect (see 3.1. - 3.1.6.).
7. The sex-distinction is neutralized in the plural.
8. 2sgSP and 3sgfSP can disambiguate the bound person-marking in the following paradigms from the Auxiliary Conjugations:

Conjugation 1: future.

Conjugation 2: pres/past; progr.; fut.; purp.

Conjugation 3: past; pres.; progr.; prup.

Conjugation 4: past; pres.; progr.; fut.

Conjugation 5: past; pres.; progr.; fut.

Conjugation 6: past; pres.; progr.; fut.

9. There is an exception to this rule: notably, where the pronoun is the benefactive object not of an auxiliary but of a noun; in which case it behaves as a free pronoun, e.g. *te ařpuřu: meat for us* (inclusive).

10. See 4.1.1.

11. Although it can occur in other positions in sentence-structure, sentence-initial occurrence is the norm.

12. -nawuna can also assume a spatial sense:

e.g. *artilnawuna*

salt water.ss : up to the salt water

13. See 4.1.5.1.

14. See 4.1.5.2.

15. See 3.2.3. for a discussion of bound negation-markers.

16. The combination of the Conjugation 1 Auxiliary together with the concomitant intonation pattern distinguishes the interrogative adverb *aman* from the temporal specifier *aman* (see 2.1.4.1.).

17. *anta* can also occur in sentence structure with an adverbial function (see Text 1, sentence 33).

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1. AUXILIARY VERB MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

Beside its role as a grammatical verb carrying person, number, tense, mood and aspect in sentence structure, each Auxiliary conjugation has a more specifically definable function. Conjugation 1, which has no semantic role, is the transitivity index of the entire conjugation system. That is to say, 96% of all transitive Verb Roots recorded are able to select for Conjugation 1.¹ Conversely, intransitive Verb Roots characteristically cannot select for Conjugation 1.²

Conjugations 2-6 (inclusive) have an identifiable semantic content; Conjugation 1 does not. Conjugation 2-6 are able to stand as independent verbs; Conjugation 1 only as a dependent grammatical verb. Conjugations 2-6 are accessible to Verb Roots carrying the continuative suffix -ma; Conjugation 1 is not.

Conjugation 2 has the semantic function of 'movement'

Conjugation 3 has the semantic function of 'movement'

Conjugation 4 has the semantic function of 'sitting'

Conjugation 5 has the semantic function of 'lying'

Conjugation 6 has the semantic function of 'standing'.

From the point of view of semantic function, then, Conjugations 2-6 fall into four fields.

In addition to carrying person, number, tense, mood, and aspect Conjugations 2-6 all carry a deictic function. On this basis they can be divided into two groups:

Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 carry a deictic function glossed as 'yonder (far away from the speaker)'.

Conjugations 4 and 6 carry a deictic function glossed as 'in the vicinity of the speaker'.

It so happens that there is a morphophonemic differentiation within the auxiliary conjugation system that divides Conjugations 2-6 into just the two groupings cited above. The two groupings are characterized in terms of *ř* and *t* conjugation types which relate to the phonological shape of the bound person-markers in the present, past and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 2-6:

| | |
|--|---------|
| first person exclusive bound subject pronoun | (lexSP) |
| second person plural bound subject pronoun | (2plSP) |
| third person plural bound subject pronoun | (3plSP) |

The Progressive paradigm will be taken as exemplar:

| | Conjugation 2 | Conjugation 3 | Conjugation |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| lexSP | ařu-ŋun ^Y | ařö-řen ^Y | ařö-ŋun ^Y |
| 2plSP | nuŋkuřu-ŋun ^Y | nöŋköřö-řen ^Y | nöŋköřö-ŋun ^Y |
| 3plSP | wörö-ŋun ^Y | wöřö-řen ^Y | wöřö-ŋun ^Y |
| | Conjugation 4 | Conjugation 6 | |
| lexSP | at-tiŋin ^Y | at-yaŋin ^Y | |
| 2plSP | nikit-tiŋin ^Y | nikit-yaŋin ^Y | |
| 3plSP | wit-tiŋin ^Y | wit-yaŋin ^Y | |

(The person-markers precede the hyphen in the above examples.) Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 are morphophonemically characterized by the *ř* conjugation-type.³ Conjugations 4 and 6 are morphophonemically characterized by the *t* conjugation type.⁴

There are two further syntactic functions carried by Conjugations 2 and 3: Conjugation 2 has a copulative function (see 3.1.2.) and Conjugation 3 has an iterative function (see 3.1.3.). Person Markers (see 3.1.8.).

Each paradigm of each conjugation carries obligatory bound subject pronouns and optional bound object pronouns. The bound subject pronouns supplement the corresponding nine free subject pronouns by two. The two additions comprise the Vegetative (v) and the Silvan/Elemental (e). (These are directly reflected in the adjectival concord system, see 3.2.7.). In terms of this pair of supplementary subject pronouns there is an asymmetry between the bound subject and object pronouns. That is to say, the nine bound object pronouns correspond to the nine free subject pronouns, on a one-to-one basis. There are no corresponding object pronoun forms for the Vegetative and Silvan/Elemental markers.

Tense, Aspect and Mood Paradigms

Tense : Present, Past,⁵ and Future

Aspect: Progressive (with the exception of Conjugation 1),
Punctiliar (Conjugation 1 only)

Mood : Purposive and Subjunctive.

Within the range of the Purposive are the Intensive (covering the desire and/or intention to do something) and the Positive Imperative. Within the range of the Subjunctive is the Potential (as opposed to the actual), often with the meaning of a 'counterfactual condition' in the protasis of a conditional sentence.

3.1.1. Conjugation 1

As already mentioned, Conjugation 1 has been interpreted in this description as the transitivity index of the conjugation system. It carries no semantic function and cannot stand alone, nor can it co-occur in the Verb Complex (see 4.1.3.) with the continuative suffix *-ma*. Related to the non-continuous aspect of this conjugation is the nature of the punctiliar paradigm. This paradigm, with an aspectually perfective force, and whose tense-range covers both past and present, describes unique events. Its function can be illustrated contrastively with that of paradigm 2, the sequential (whose tense-range also covers both past and present) which is used to express serial actions.

In the following passage the time-sequence is punctuated by unique events (rendered by the punctiliar):

110. [te yiqi kark yuqun^Y] [waliwaliman^Y
 clf crocodile come up 3sgmSP.2(progr) river.dpf
 kark yuqun^Yt^Ya] [nönyöqun^Y titna]
 come up 3sgmSP.2(progr).foc 3sgfSP.5(progr) bank.loc
 [qat^Y kark yuqun^Y] [tař
 ptcl(emph) come up 3sgmSP.2(progr) bite
 yimin^Yqayⁱ] [yiqiwan tař yimln^Y
 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP crocodile.ag bite 3sgmSP.1(punct)
 alalk nikpiwa] [yakayaka nimin^Y neman^Yt^Ya]
 child little(sgf).sfm scream 3sgfSP.1(punct) parent.sfm
*The salt-water crocodile was coming up. He was coming up from
 the river. She was sleeping on the bank. He was just coming
 up. He bit her. The crocodile bit the little girl. The
 mother screamed.*

The sequential describes serial activity:⁶

111. [alawar paʃat nöntyö] [tʸöŋ leʃp wöwöntön]
 woman get up 3sgfSP.5(pres) wood gather 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
 [ka nunta tʸöŋ tʸaktʸet] [pirpiyet
 come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire prepare ignite
 wöwöntön]
 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
*The woman gets up, fathers wood, comes and prepares the fire
 and ignites (it).*

Conjugation 1

| Persons | Punctiliar (i) | Sequential (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1sgSP | aya | awöntön | atöma | anmawa | awuntuwa |
| 2sgSP | nuntya | nöwöntön | nöntöma | nunmawa | nuwuntuwa |
| 3sgmSP | yimin ^y | wöwöntön | yinma | yinmawa | wuwuntuwa |
| 3sgfSP | nimin ^y | wöwöntön | nunma | nunmawa | wuwuntuwa |
| 3sgvSP | muya | möwöntön | munma | munmawa | muwuntuwa |
| 3sgeSP | wuya | wöwöntön | wunma | wunmawa | wuwuntuwa |
| 1dlSP | aŋkaya | aŋköntön | aŋkötöma | aŋkunmawa | aŋkuntuwa |
| 1lcSP | aŋkun ^y | aŋköntön | aŋtöma | aŋkunmawa | aŋkuntuwa |
| 1exSP | aŋun ^y | aŋöntön | attöma | aŋunmawa | aŋuntuwa |
| 2plSP | nunŋkuŋun ^y | nönŋköřöntön | nököttöma | nunŋkuŋu- nmawa- | nunŋkuŋu- ntuwa |
| 3plSP | wiŋmin ^y | wöřöntön | wöttöma | wöřön- mawa | wuŋuntuwa |

The subject-pronouns are incorporated into the auxiliary paradigms as bound prefixal person-markers which are set out for the conjugation as follows:

| Persons | Punctiliar (i) | Sequential (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1sgSP | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- |
| 2sgSP | nunt- | nö- | nön- | nu- | nu- |
| 3sgmSP | yi- | wö- | yi- | yi- | wu- |
| 3sgfSP | ni- | wö- | nu- | nu- | wu- |
| 3sgvSP | mu- | mö- | mu- | mu- | mu- |
| 3sgeSP | wu- | wö- | wu- | wu- | wu- |

| Persons | Punctiliar (i) | Sequential (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1d1SP | aŋka- | aŋk- | aŋkō- | aŋku- | aŋk- |
| 11cSP | ařk- | ařk- | ař- | ařku- | ařk- |
| 1exSP | ař- | ař- | at- | ařu- | ař- |
| 2plSP | nuŋkuř- | nōnkōř- | nōkōt- | nuŋkuřu- | nuŋkuř- |
| 3plSP | wiř- | wōř- | wōt- | wōřō- | wuř- |

The tense-markers, residually, are as follows:

| Persons | Punctiliar (i) | Sequential (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1sgSP | -ya | -wōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -wuntuwa |
| 2sgSP | -ya | -wōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -wuntuwa |
| 3sgmSP | -min ^y | -wōntōn | -nma | -nmawa | -wuntuwa |
| 3sgfSP | -min ^y | -wōntōn | -nma | -nmawa | -wuntuwa |
| 3sgvSP | -ya | -wōntōn | -nma | -nmawa | -wuntuwa |
| 3sgeSP | -ya | -wōntōn | -nma | -nmawa | -wuntuwa |
| 1d1SP | -ya | -ōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -untuwa |
| 11cSP | -un ^y | -ōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -untuwa |
| 1exSP | -un ^y | -ōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -untuwa |
| 2plSP | -un ^y | -ōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -untuwa |
| 3plSP | -min ^y | -ōntōn | -tōma | -nmawa | -untuwa |

Paradigm 3. Purposive

112. mi ŋak nōntōma
food eat 2sgSP.1(purp)
Eat the food!
113. wak yentawaliktap atōma
water like/desire 1sgSP.1(purp)
I'd like (some) water.
114. taratwat atōmawōro
look(pl.obj.).send 1sgSP.1(purp).3plOP
I'll watch them.
115. [apap yinma] [tek yawuk ŋiřk yinma]
sick 3sg.mSP.1(purp) camp other die 3sgmSP.1(purp)
If he's sick in another camp he will die.

116. aman ařtöma?
adv(intrg) 1(ic)SP.1(purp)
What are we going to do?

Paradigm 4. Future

117. mi ğak anmawa
food eat 1sgSP.1(fut)
I will eat food.
118. mi aŋ anmanöwa⁷
food give 1sgSP.1(fut).3sgmOP
I will give him food.
119. mi aŋ anmawöřöwa
food give 1sgSP.1(fut).3plOP
I will give them food.

Paradigm 5. Subjunctive

120. te aŋ awuntunöwakka anti te aŋ
meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip) meat give
wuwuntuwařin^yt^yakna
3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc
Had I given him meat he would have given me some.
121. te aŋ nuwuntuwařin^yt^yakna anti te aŋ
meat give 2sgSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip) meat give
anmanunuwakka
1sgSP.1(fut).2sgOP.foc
If you give me meat I will give you some.

The subjunctive also includes within its range the potential:

122. mata tarar wuwuntuwa
rain rain lightly 3sgSP.1(subj)
It might rain lightly.

Although Conjugation 1 has been termed the transitivity index of the conjugation system its transitivizing capacity is extremely limited. *yur* (lie down) and *t^yet* (stand up) are the cognate verb roots for conjugations 5 and 6, respectively. But when selecting Conjugation 1 they function as transitive verbs.

123. t^yaŋar yur aya pawuřkan
spear lay 1sgSP.1(punctiliar) floor.loc
I lay spear on floor.

124. antuk t^yet ařöntön
house put up lexSP.1(sequ)
We (ex) erect(ed) the house.

One verb root has been encountered whose semantic content can be affected according to which of two conjugations it selects:

- t^yuřk (1) + conj. 1: bury
 (2) + conj. 2: enter
 125. pulit^y t^yuřk ayanö
old man bury lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I bury/buried the old man.
126. tono t^yuřk yita
jungle enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He enters/entered the jungle.

3.1.2. Conjugation 2

Auxiliary Conjugation 2 is, semantically, a conjugation of 'movement'. It carries both a deictic and a copulative function.

In its unmarked role Conjugation 2:

(i) co-occurs with verb roots of 'movement' in a semantically cognate role:

127. pi yita tönöna
go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) jungle.
He goes/went to the jungle.
128. kupuk yita waliwaliyinga
dive 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) river.loc
He dives/dived into the river.

or occurs by itself as a verb of 'movement':

129. tenö ata
meat.int lsgSP.2(pres/past)
I'm going for meat.

(ii) carries a deictic function glossed as 'yonder (far away from the speaker)':

130. nilŋ tarma wutta
nail press.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
They are/were hammering nails (over yonder).

131. yin^Ya eyin yita?
 man intrg 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
Who is that man (over yonder)?

(iii) when occurring alone (i.e., without a verb root) Auxiliary Conjugation 2 can carry a copulative function:

132. karala yunpayin yita
 body good 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is happy.

133. ɲa leʔp aɲun^Y
 1sgSP hot 1sgSP.2(progr)
I am hot.

For the marked role of Conjugation 2 the semantic function of the auxiliary is 'foregrounded':⁸

134. t^Yalkyur nönyö
 bend over 2sgSP/3sgfSP.5(pres)
She bends over/You (sg) bend over.

becomes, when Conjugation 2 is selected:

135. t^Yalkyurali nunta
 bend over.ptcpl 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
You (sg)/She go(es)/went along bent over.

136. ka yita-nki
 come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He comes/come here.

Conjugation 2

| Persons | Pres/Past (i) | Progressive (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1sgSP | ata | aɲun ^Y | atun | anunka | awin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 2sgSP | nunta | nun ^Y un | nuntun | nununka | niwin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 3sgmSP | yita | yun ^Y un | yonpun | yönnunka | wiwin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 3sgfSP | nunta | nun ^Y un | nunpun | nununka | wiwin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 3sgvSP | muta | mun ^Y un | munpun | mönnunka | miwin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 3sgeSP | wuta | wun ^Y un | wunpun | wonunka | wiwin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 1dlSP | aɲkata | aɲkun ^Y un | aɲkatun | aɲkanunka | aɲkin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 1lcSP | aʔta | aʔkun ^Y un | aʔtin | aʔkanunka | aʔkin ^Y t ^Y a |
| 1exSP | atta | aʔun ^Y un | attun | aʔarunka | aʔin ^Y t ^Y a |

| Persons | Pres/Past (i) | Progressive (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--|
| 2plSP | nukutta | nunķuřunun ^Y | nukuttuŋ | nunķuř- unuŋka | niŋkiřin ^Y _t ^Y _a |
| 3plSP | wuttan | wöřöŋun ^Y | wuttuŋ | wöřönuŋka | wiřin ^Y _t ^Y _a |

The subject person-markers are as follows:

| Persons | Pres/Past (i) | Progressive (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1sgSP | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- |
| 2sgSP | nun- | nu- | nun- | nu- | ni- |
| 3sgmSP | yi- | yu- | yön- | yö- | wi- |
| 3sgfSP | nun- | nu- | nun- | nu- | wi- |
| 3sgvSP | mu- | mu- | mun- | mö- | mi- |
| 3sgeSP | wu- | wu- | wun- | wö- | wi- |
| 1dlSP | aŋka- | aŋku- | aŋka- | aŋka- | aŋk- |
| 1lcSP | ař- | ařku- | ař- | ařka- | ařk- |
| 1exSP | at- | aru- | at- | ara- | ar- |
| 2plSP | nukut- | nuŋķuřu- | nukut- | nunķuřu- | niŋkiř- |
| 3plSP | wut- | wöřö- | wut- | wöřö- | wiř- |

The tense-markers are, residually, as follows:

| Persons | Pres/Past (i) | Progressive (ii) | Purposive (iii) | Future (iv) | Subjunctive (v) |
|---------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|--|
| 1sgSP | -ta | -ŋun ^Y | -tuŋ | -nuŋka | -win ^Y _t ^Y _a |
| 2sgSP | | | | | |
| 3sgmSP | | | | | |
| 3sgfSP | | | | | |
| 3sgvSP | | | | | |
| 3sgeSP | | | | | -win ^Y _t ^Y _a |
| 1dlSP | | | | | -in ^Y _t ^Y _a |
| 1lcSP | | | | | |
| 1exSP | | | | | |
| 2plSP | | | | | |
| 3plSP | -ta | -ŋun ^Y | -tuŋ | -nuŋka | -in ^Y _t ^Y _a |

Paradigm 1. Present/Past

137. alawar wapi yita tek yawukan
 woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp other.loc
He takes (his) wife to another camp.
138. alawar yin^Ya yawöt akana pi atta
 woman man lexSP adv(neg) go lex.SP.2(pres/past)
 tan
 mix(intr)
We (ex) men and women don't mix.

Paradigm 2. Progressive

139. pi anun^Y 'mission'-na
 go 1sgSP.2(progr) Mission.loc
I've been going to the Mission for some time.
140. katma yun^Yna
 laugh.cnt 3sgSP.2(progr).loc
He used to laugh.
141. kina ka yun^Y
 ss.loc come 3sgmSP.(progr)
He's been here some time.
142. wan^Yma wöfö^Yun^Y
 row.cnt 3plSP.2(progr)
They used to row (nautical).
143. mat^Yan lapar yun^Y
 foot swell 3sgmSP.2(progr)
His foot is swelling.
144. tatma yita t^Yintan way yun^Y
 see.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) always still 3sgmSP.2(progr)
He's still alive.

Paradigm 3. Purposive

145. yeli pi attun tat^Y
 paperbark go lexSP.2(purp) strike
We (ex) are going to strip off paperbark.

146. kina ka yōnpuŋ
 ss.loc come 3sgmSP.2(purp)
Let him come here.
147. pařakutman attuŋ
 white man.rbl lexSP.2(purp)
We're getting like white men.
148. t^yakat nuntuŋ!
 run
Run!

Paradigm 4. Future

149. te mu pi yōnuŋka tirit tikka yōnuŋka
 clf goose go 3sgmSP.2(fut) shoot back.come 3sgmSP.2(fut)
He will go and shoot geese and come back.
150. akutena pi anuŋka?
 intrg(ss) go lsgSP.2(fut)
Where shall I go?

Paradigm . Subjunctive

151. ka wiwin^yt^ya yin^ya yanak eyin?
 come 3sgmSP.2(subj) (initiated) man one
Would any one man have come?
152. muyin^y ŋuluk lamlamma wiřin^yt^ya
 dogs language talk 3plSP.2(subj)
The dogs would have been able to speak.
153. antiman^yŋa te aŋma ařkin^ynōwakka
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 1lcSP.2(subj).3sgmOP.foc
 akana te anti aŋ yōnpuŋařpuŋu
 adv(neg) meat adv(recip) give 3sgmSP.2(purp)1lcOP
If we (1c) don't give him meat he won't give us (1c) any.

3.1.3. Conjugation 3

Auxiliary Conjugation 3 is semantically a conjugation of 'movement'; it also carries a deictic function (glossed as 'yonder far away from the speaker') and an iterative function (glossed as 'keep on/go on doing (something)').

In its unmarked function Conjugation 3:

(1) co-occurs with Verbs of 'movement', in a semantically cognate role:

154. ka yōwōřa pak
come 3sgmSP.2(pres) sit down
He is coming to sit down.

155. tikpi yōwōřa yur
back go 3sgmSP.3(pres) lie down
He's on his way back to lie down.

(11) carries a deictic function glossed as 'yonder (away from speaker)' and an iterative function:

156. wuřk mōwōřa
big fire 3sgvSP.3(pres)
Bush fire goes on (burning) a long way off.

(wuřk (big fire) requires m- concord, rather than the w- concord which t^yōŋ (fire) demands.)

In its marked function the auxiliary is semantically foregrounded:

157. te lakma yōwōraŋa
meat eat.cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres).dc
He kept on moving while eating over there.

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Paradigm 1. Present

158. te welma yōwōřa
meat hang(intr).cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres)
The meat goes on hanging there.

Paradigm 2. Past

159. te ma pi yuwuřa ey
elf wallaby on 3sgmSP.3(past) kill
He goes on killing wallaby.

160. waliwali ki wuruřa artil
river ss 3sgeSP.3(past) sea
This river went on flowing to the sea.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

161. yōntōn t^yeyantakma yōwōřen^y
3sgmSP listen.cnt 3sgmSP.3(progr)
He keeps on listening over there.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

162. *te welma yönpöřaŋ*
meat hang.cnt 3sgmSP.3(purp)
Let the meat go on hanging there.

163. *mi mönpöřaŋ*
food sgvSP.3(purp)
Let the food go on (cooking).

Paradigm 5. Future

164. *yöntön t^yeyantakma yönöřaŋka*
3sgmSP listen.cnt 3sgmSP.3(fut)
He will go on listening over there.

Note that there is no Subjunctive paradigm for Conjugation 3.

Conjugation 3

| Persons | Past Paradigm 1 | Present Paradigm 2 | Progress- ive Paradigm 3 | Purposive Paradigm 4 | Future Paradigm 5 |
|---------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1sgSP | awuřa | awöřa | awöřen ^y | atöřa | anöřaŋka |
| 2sgSP | numpuřa | nömpöřa | nömpöřen ^y | nöntöřaŋ | nönöřaŋka |
| 3sgmSP | yuwuřa | yöwöřa | yöwöřen ^y | yönpöřaŋ | yönöřaŋka |
| 3sgfSP | numpuřa | nömpöřa | nömpöřen ^y | nönpöřaŋ | nönöřaŋka |
| 3sgvSP | muwuřa | möwöřa | möwöřen ^y | mönpöřaŋ | mönöřaŋka |
| 3sgeSP | wuwuřa | wöwöřa | wöwöřen ^y | wönpöřaŋ | wönöřaŋka |
| 1dlSP | aŋkuwuřa | aŋköwöřa | aŋköwöřen ^y | aŋkötöřaŋ | aŋkönöřaŋka |
| 1lcSP | ařkuwuřa | ařköwöřa | ařköwöřen ^y | ařtöřaŋ | ařkönöřaŋka |
| 1exSP | aruřa | aröřa | aröřen ^y | attöřaŋ | arönöřaŋka |
| 2plSP | nuŋkuruřa | nönköröřa | nönköröřen ^y | nukuttöřaŋ | nönkönöřaŋka |
| 3plSP | wuřura | wöröřa | wöröřen ^y | wöttöřaŋ | wörönöřaŋka |

The bound person-markers are as follows:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1sgSP | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- |
| 2sgSP | num- | nöm- | nöm- | nön- | nö- |
| 3sgmSP | yu- | yö- | yö- | yön- | yö- |
| 3sgfSP | num- | nöm- | nöm- | nön- | nö- |
| 3sgvSP | mu- | mö- | mö- | mön- | mö- |
| 3sgeSP | wu- | wö- | wö- | wön- | wö- |
| 1dlSP | aŋku- | aŋkö- | aŋkö- | aŋkö- | aŋkö- |

| Persons | Past Paradigm 1 | Present Paradigm 2 | Progress- ive Paradigm 3 | Purposive Paradigm 4 | Future Paradigm 5 |
|---------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1lcSP | ařku- | ařkō- | ařkō- | ař- | ařkō- |
| 1exSP | ařu- | ařō- | ařō- | at- | ařō- |
| 2plSP | nuŋkuřu- | nōŋkōřō- | nōŋkōřō- | nukut- | nōŋkō- |
| 3plSP | wuřu- | wōřō- | wōřō- | wōt- | wōřō- |

The tense-markers are as follows:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-------|---------------------|--------|----------|
| 1sgSP | -wuřa | -wōřa | -wořen ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 2sgSP | -puřa | -pōřa | -pōřen ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 3sgmSP | -wuřa | -wōřa | -wōřen ^y | -pōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 3sgfSP | -puřa | -pōřa | -pōřen ^y | -pōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 3sgvSP | -wuřa | -wōřa | -wōřen ^y | -pōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 3sgeSP | -wuřa | -wōřa | -wōřen ^y | -pōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 1dlSP | -wuřa | -wōřa | -wōřen ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 1lcSP | -wuřa | -wōřa | -wōřen ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 1exSP | -ra | -ra | -ren ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 2plSP | -ra | -ra | -ren ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |
| 3plSP | -ra | -ra | -ren ^y | -tōřaŋ | -nōřaŋka |

3.1.4. Conjugation 4

Auxiliary Conjugation 4 is semantically a conjugation of 'sitting'; it also carries a deictic function glossed as 'in the vicinity of the speaker'.

In its unmarked function Conjugation 4:

(i) occurs with the Verb Root *sit* in a semantically cognate role:

165. yōntōn pak yōnō
 3sgmSP *sit* 3sgmSP.4(pres)
He sits down.

(ii) carries a deictic function glossed as 'in the vicinity of the speaker':

166. yin^{ya} muřma wōttō
(initiated)man dance.cnt 3plSP.4(pres)
The men are dancing here.

167. nilŋ tarma yōnō
nail press.cnt 3sgmSP.4(pres)
He hammers the nail (in the speaker's vicinity).

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

168. nan^yiik yiřma anö
 hand scratch.cnt lsgSP.4(pres)
I am sitting down scratching my hand.

Conjugation 4

| Persons | Past (i) | Present (ii) | Progressive (iii) | Purposive (iv) | Future (v) | Subjunctive (vi) |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|--|
| 1sgSP | anuwa | anö | anigin ^y | atini | aniwa | awinin ^y t ^y a |
| 2sgSP | nunuwa | nönö | nininigin ^y | nintini | niniwa | niwinin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgmSP | yunuwa | yönö | yininigin ^y | yini | yiniwa | wiwinin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgfSP | nunuwa | nönö | nininigin ^y | nini | niniwa | wiwinin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgvSP | munuwa | mönö | minigin ^y | mini | miniwa | miwinin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgeSP | wunuwa | wönö | wininigin ^y | wini | winiwa | wiwinin ^y t ^y a |
| 1dlSP | aḡkunuwa | aḡkönö | aḡkinigin ^y | aḡkit- | aḡkiniwa | aḡkinin ^y t ^y a |
| 1lcSP | ařtuwa | ařtö | ařtinigin ^y | ařtini | ařkiniwa | ařinin ^y t ^y a |
| 1exSP | attuwa | attö | attigin ^y | attini | ariniwa | arinin ^y t ^y a |
| 2plSP | nukuttuwa | nukuttö | nikittigin ^y | nikittini | niḡkiřiniwa | niḡkiřinin ^y t ^y a |
| 3plSP | wuttuwa | wöttö | wittigin ^y | wittini | wiřiniwa | wiřinin ^y t ^y a |

The bound person-markers are as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1sgSP | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- |
| 2sgSP | nu- | nö- | ni- | nin- | ni- | ni- |
| 3sgmSP | yu- | yö- | yi- | yi- | yi- | wi- |
| 3sgfSP | nu- | nö- | ni- | ni- | ni- | wi- |
| 3sgvSP | mu- | mö- | mi- | mi- | mi- | mi- |
| 3sgeSP | wu- | wö- | wi- | wi- | wi- | wi- |
| 1dlSP | aḡku- | aḡkö- | aḡki- | aḡki- | aḡki- | aḡk- |
| 1lcSP | ař- | ař- | ař- | ař- | ařki- | ařk- |
| 1exSP | at- | at- | at- | at- | aři- | ař- |
| 2plSP | nukut- | nukut- | nukut- | nikit- | niḡkiři- | niḡkiř- |
| 3plSP | wut- | wöt- | wit- | wit- | wiři- | wiř- |

The tense-markers are as follows:

| Persons | Past (i) | Present (ii) | Progressive (iii) | Purposive (iv) | Future (v) | Subjunctive (vi) |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|---|
| 1sgSP | -nuwa | -nö | -niŋin ^y | -tini | -niwa | -winin ^y t ^y a |
| 2sgSP | | | | -tini | | |
| 3sgmSP | | | | -ni | | |
| 3sgfSP | | | | -ni | | |
| 3sgvSP | | | | -ni | | |
| 3sgeSP | | | -niŋin ^y | -ni | | -winin ^y t ^y a |
| 1d1SP | -nuwa | | -iŋin ^y | -tini | | -in ^y in ^y t ^y a |
| 1icSP | -tuwa | | -tiŋin ^y | | | |
| lexSP | | | | | | |
| 2plSP | | | | | | |
| 3plSP | -tuwa | -nö | -tiŋin ^y | -tini | -niwa | -in ^y in ^y t ^y a |

Paradigm 1. Past Tense

169. yöntön pak yunuwa
 3sgmSP sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
He sat down.

The meaning of the verb root tik differs according to whether it is accompanied by a Conjugation 4 or a Conjugation 2 auxiliary:

170. tik anuwa
I grew up.

as opposed to:

171. tik yita
 back 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He came/comes back.

172. wöřöntön lamlamma wuttuwa
 3plSP talk.cnt 3plSP.4(past)
They were sitting talking or They were talking in the speaker's vicinity.

Paradigm 2. Present Tense

173. yin^ya paröt pakali yönö
 (initiated)man sits up sit.ptcpl 3sgmSP.4(pres)
The man gets into a sitting position (i.e. from lying position).

174. yin^Ya ki yönö
 (initiated)man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres)
This man here.
175. puntu patma wönařin^Y
 head burst.cnt 3sgeSP.4(pres).lsgOP
My head is splitting (i.e. I have a bad headache).

Paradigm 3. Progressive

176. alimiřiman^Y yiniŋin^Y
 ts.dpt 3sgmSP.4(progr)
He's been here a long time.
177. pön^Y tik aniŋin^Y
 belly grow lsgSP.4(pres)
I'm getting fat.
178. [mi miniŋin^Y] [wapi wutta numpaŋ]
 food 3sgvSP.4(progr) take 3plSP.2(pres/past) adv
Perhaps they took the food that was here.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

179. luppakali ařtini
 close together sit.ptcpl licSP.4(purp)
We'll/let's sit close together.
180. pak nintini!
 sit 2sgSP.4(purp)
Sit down!
181. tik yini!
 grow up 3sgmSP.4(purp)
Let him grow up!

Paradigm 5. Future

182. ȧöyö kina pak aniwa
 tomorrow ss.loc sit lsgSP.4(fut)
Tomorrow I'll sit here.
183. ȧöyö t^Yert^Yerma aniwa
 tomorrow sing.cnt lsgSP.4(fut)
Tomorrow I will sing.

Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

184. *te* *aŋma* *wiwinin^Yarin^Yta^Ykna* *lakma*
 meat *give.cnt* 3sgmSP.4(subj).foc *eat(meat).cnt*
 awinin^Yt^Yakna
 1sgSP.4(subj).foc
 Had he given me meat I would have eaten it.

3.1.5. Conjugation 5

Auxiliary Conjugation 5 is semantically a conjugation of 'lying'; it also carries a deictic function of 'yonder (far away from the speaker)'.
 In its unmarked function Conjugation 5:

- (1) co-occurs with Verbs of 'lying' in a semantically cognate function:

185. *yur* *wöřö*
 lie down 3plSP.5(pres)
 They lie down.

(11) carries a deictic function meaning 'yonder (far away from the speaker)'.
 186. *yin^Ya* *muřma* *wöřö*
 man *dance.cnt* 3plSP.5(pres)
 The men are dancing over yonder.

187. *niŋ* *tarma* *wöřö*
 nail *pres.cnt* 3plSP.5(pres)
 They are hammering nails over yonder.

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

188. *alawar* *kan^Yakma* *nönyö*
 woman *cough.cnt* 3sgfSP.5(pres)
 She is coughing lying down.

Conjugation 5

| Persons | Past (i) | Present (ii) | Progressive (iii) | Purposive (iv) | Future (v) | Subjunctive (vi) |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| 1sgSP | ayuwa | ayö | ayöñun ^y | atöyüñ | anöyüñka | awin ^y t ^y a |
| 2sgSP | nunyuwa | nönyö | nönyöñun ^y | nöntöyüñ | nönöyüñka | niwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgmSP | yuyuwa | yöyö | yöyöñun ^y | yönyüñ | yönöyüñka | wiwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgfSP | nunyuwa | nönyö | nönyöñun ^y | nönyüñ | nönöyüñka | wiwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgvSP | muyuwa | möyö | möyöñun ^y | mönyüñ | mönöyüñka | miwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgeSP | wuyuwa | wöyö | wöyöñun ^y | wönyüñ | wönöyüñka | wiwin ^y t ^y a |
| 1dlSP | añkuyüwa | añköyö | añköyöñun ^y | añkötöyüñ | añkönöyüñka | añkin ^y t ^y a |
| 1lcSP | ařtyüwa | ařtyö | ařtyöñun ^y | ařtöyüñ | ařkönöyüñka | ařkin ^y t ^y a |
| 1exSP | ařüwa | ařö | ařöñun ^y | attöyüñ | ařönöyüñka | ařin ^y t ^y a |
| 2plSP | nuñkuřüwa | nöñköřö | nöñköřöñun ^y | nukuttöyüñ | nöñköřönöyüñka | niñkiřin ^y t ^y a |
| 3plSP | wuřüwa | wöřö | wöřöñun ^y | wöttöyüñ | wöřönöyüñka | wiřin ^y t ^y a |

The bound person-markers are as follows:

| Persons | Past (i) | Present (ii) | Progressive (iii) | Purposive (iv) | Future (v) | Subjunctive (vi) |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 1sgSP | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- |
| 2sgSP | nun- | nön- | nön- | nön- | nö- | ni- |
| 3sgmSP | yu- | yö- | yö- | yön- | yö- | wi- |
| 3sgfSP | nun- | nön- | nön- | nön- | nö- | wi |
| 3sgvSP | mu- | mö- | mö- | mön- | mö- | mi- |
| 3sgeSP | wu- | wö- | wö- | wön- | wö- | wi- |
| 1dlSP | aṅku- | aṅkö- | aṅkö- | aṅkö- | aṅkö- | aṅk- |
| 1lcSP | ařt- | ařt- | ařt- | ař- | ařkö- | ařk- |
| 1exSP | ař- | ař- | ař- | at- | ařö- | ař- |
| 2plSP | nuṅkur- | nöṅköř- | nöṅköř- | nukut- | nöṅköřö- | niṅkiř- |
| 3plSP | wuř- | wöř- | wöř- | wöt- | wöřö- | wiř- |

The tense-markers are as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----|---------------------|--------|----------|------------------------------------|
| 1sgSP | -yuwa | -yö | -yöṅun ^y | -töyüṅ | -nöyüṅka | -win ^y t ^y a |
| 2sgSP | | | | -töyüṅ | | |
| 3sgmSP | | | | -yüṅ | | |
| 3sgfSP | | | | | | |
| 3sgvSP | | | | | | |
| 3sgeSP | | | | -yüṅ | | -win ^y t ^y a |
| 1dlSP | | | | -töyüṅ | | -in ^y t ^y a |
| 1lcSP | -yuwa | -yö | -yöṅun ^y | | | |
| 1exSP | -uwa | -ö | -öṅun ^y | | | |
| 2plSP | | | | | | |
| 3plSP | -uwa | -ö | -öṅun ^y | -töyüṅ | -nöyüṅka | -in ^y t ^y a |

Fifty-nine verb roots have been encountered which can co-occur with Conjugation 5 only in the plural persons. The reasons for this constraint are not yet clear.

Verb Roots able to take Conjugation 5 in the plural only are marked by a bracketed asterisk. Constraints on the co-occurrence of particular verb roots with (full) auxiliary conjugations are marked by unbracketed asterisks.

| | | |
|---------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| keřkat ^y | 1234*5(*)6 | startle (e.g. an animal) |
| kölp | 12345(*)6* | roast |
| kurkat ^y | 12345(*)6 | dig out |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|--|
| kuřwapakat ^y | 12345(*)6 | turn around (tr) |
| kuwpuk | 1*234*5(*)6* | dive into water (plural.subj) |
| lakkat ^y | 12345(*)6 | leave meat when salted |
| larap | 12345(*)6 | bind |
| leřiyet | 1*2345(*)6 | spread out (intr) |
| leřp (plural.subj) | 1*2345(*)6 | meat (marked for plurality) |
| leřp | 12345(*)6 | gather firewood |
| min ^y t ^y etali | 1*2345(*)6 | throw firesticks at someone |
| karkwat/kararkwarat | 12345(*)6 | bring/take across |
| altuřp | 12345(*)6 | penetrate |
| ey | 1234*5(*)6(*) | wound (with spear) |
| kuřwapi | 1*234*5(*)6* | drag |
| kalyur | 12345(*)6 | carry (on shoulder) |
| kapukakupuk | 1*2345(*)6 | bathe |
| karakwat | 12345(*)6 | make s.o. do (something) |
| kařlak(ma) (e.g. of bird) | 1234*5(*)6 | pick something out of ground and eat it |
| park | 1234*5(*)6 | leave something behind |
| wat | 12345(*)6 | send |
| watiyaŋ | 12345(*)6 | share |
| tar/tarmuř | 12345(*)6 | crush/crush with feet |
| yeřpat | 12345(*)6 | rub |
| aritapat | 12345(*)6 | open door |
| timkut | 12345(*)6 | bury (e.g. a dog a bone) |
| kark nönyö } karark wöřö } | 1*234*5(*)6 | come/go up |
| wat ^y uk | 12345(*)6 | pour |
| wuřk | 12345(*)6 | fill up (e.g. a bag) |
| taŋkat ^y | 12345(*)6 | mix up (people, etc.) (tr) |
| yitt ^y eřat | 12345(*)6 | slough skin (e.g. of a snake) |
| pin ^y wukut ^y | 12345(*)6 | bale (water) out |
| nakwirwir | 12345(*)6 | eat fruit and dribble juice |

| | | |
|---|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| natnat | 1234*5(*)6 | chip wood |
| natan ^Y kat ^Y | 12345(*)6 | make a mistake |
| payiwarat | 12345(*)6 | bring out |
| peřpaŋ | 12345(*)6 | frighten (tr) |
| pet | 12345(*)6 | paint |
| pikpit | 12345(*)6* | rub firestick |
| pit | 12345(*)6 | miss (i.e. with spear) |
| tapak | 12345(*)6 | break |
| tappariřip | 12345(*)6 | turn over |
| tapatpam | 12345(*)6 | pick something up and put it down |
| tayipat | 123*45(*)6 | split |
| tuktatar | 12345(*)6 | hollow out a log for a canoe |
| t ^Y akt ^Y et | 12345(*)6 | make (i.e. prepare) fire |
| t ^Y ampuřp | 1*2345(*)6 | stoke up fire |
| pay | 1*234*5(*)6* | emerge |
| t ^Y ayat ^Y aya | 12345(*)6 | pour water into an object |
| kiwaŋ t ^Y en ^Y | 12345(*)6 | fix up/repair |
| t ^Y iyaŋ | 12345(*)6 | give |
| t ^Y ölölmuru | 1*234*5(*)6 | descend |
| t ^Y uřk | 12345(*)6 | enter |
| t ^Y uřpte ^Y it ^Y | 1234*5(*)6 | cut off |
| wařiyat | 12345(*)6 | meet |
| wurumeiwurumei | 12345(*)6 | try something out |
| yeřputwa | 1*2345(*)6 | take back a gift |
| yurma | 12345(*)6 | drag net |
| tapt ^Y iř | 12345(*)6 | drop |

TENSE/MOOD/ASPECT

Paradigm 1. Past Tense

189. yöntön yur yuyuwa
 3sgmSP lie down 3sgmSP.5(past)
 He lay down.

190. yin^Ya alawar ɲuŋut wuŋuwa
 man woman sleep 3plSP.5(past)
The man/men (and) woman/women slept.

Paradigm 2. Present Tense

191. muyin^Y möröt keŋpkeŋpma yöyö
 dog bone crunch.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres)
The dog is lying down crunching the bone.
192. yöntön man^Yyur yöyö
 3sgmSP floats up 3sgmSP.5(pres)
He floats up.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

193. alimiŋi kina yur wöŋöŋun^Y
 ts ss.loc lie down 3plSP.5(progr)
They used to lie down here.
194. te ɲawan^Yak wöŋöŋun^Y
 meat smell 3plSP.5(progr)
They are smelling the meat.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

195. ɲuŋut yönyuŋ
 sleep 3sgmSP.5(purp)
He's going to have a sleep.
196. yur nöntöyüŋ!
 lie down 2sgSP.5(purp)
Lie down!

Paradigm 5. Future

197. ɲa t^Yeyantak anöyüŋnunuwa
 lsgSP hear lsgSP.5(fut)
I will listen to you.
198. ɲa yur anöyüŋka
 lsgSP lie down lsgSP.5(fut)
I will lie down.

Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

199. *waŋaʃi* *yur* *niwin^yt^yakna* *ŋa* *yur*
 2sgSP *lie down* 2sgSP.5(subj).foc 1sgSP *lie down*
anöyũkakna
 1sgSP.5(fut).foc
If you lie down I'll lie down.
200. *yöntön* *ariwit^yim* *wiwin^yŋayiwakka* *anti*
 3sgmSP *kiss* 3sgmSP.2/5/6(subj).3sgfOP.foc adv(recip)
nöntön *ariwit^yim* *nönöyũnönöwakka*
 3sgfSP *kiss* 3sgfSP.5(fut).3sgmOP
If he kisses her she will kiss him.

3.1.6. Conjugation 6

Auxiliary Conjugation 6 is semantically a conjugation of 'standing'; it also carries a deictic function of 'in the vicinity of the speaker'. Conjugation 6 is grouped, deictically and morphologically, with Conjugation 4: both carry a deictic sense of 'in the speaker's vicinity' and both fall within what has been called *t* conjugation type.

In its unmarked function Conjugation 6:

(i) co-occurs with Verbs of 'standing' in a semantically cognate function:

201. *alawar* *paʃat* *nöntyö*
woman get up 3sgfSP.6(pres)
The woman gets up.
202. *yin^ya* *t^yeʃat⁹* *wityaŋin^y*
man stand (pl S) 3plSP.6(progr)
The men are standing up.

(ii) carries a deictic function meaning 'in the vicinity of the speaker':

203. *nöntön* *antuk* *luʃuŋma* *nöntyö*
 3sgfSP *house clean.cnt* 3sgfSP.6(pres)
She is cleaning the house here/nearby.

as opposed to:

204. *nöntön* *antuk* *luʃuŋma* *nönyö*
 3sgfSP *house clean.cnt* 3sgfSP.5(pres)
She is cleaning the house over yonder.

Conjugation 6

| Persons | Past (i) | Present (ii) | Progressive (iii) | Purposive (iv) | Future (v) | Subjunctive (vi) |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| 1sgSP | ayuwa | ayö | ayanin ^y | atiyaŋ | aniyaŋ | awin ^y t ^y a |
| 2sgSP | nuntuyuwa | nöntyö | nintyaŋin ^y | nintiyaŋ | niniyaŋka | niwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgmSP | yuyuwa | yöyö | yiyaŋin ^y | yintyaŋ | yiniyaŋka | wiwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgfSP | nuntyuwa | nöntyö | nintyaŋin ^y | nuntyaŋ | niniyaŋka | wiwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgvSP | muyuwa | möyö | miyaŋin ^y | muntyaŋ | miniyaŋka | miwin ^y t ^y a |
| 3sgeSP | wuyuwa | wöyö | wiyaŋin ^y | wuntyaŋ | winiyaŋka | wiwin ^y t ^y a |
| 1dlSP | aŋkuyuwa | aŋköyö | aŋkiyaŋin ^y | aŋkitiyaŋ | aŋkiniyaŋka | aŋkin ^y t ^y a |
| 1lcSP | ařtyuwa | ařtyö | ařtyaŋin ^y | ařtiyaŋ | ařkiniyaŋka | ařkin ^y t ^y a |
| 1exSP | atyuwa | atyö | atyaŋin ^y | attiyaŋ | ařiniyaŋka | ařin ^y t ^y a |
| 2plSP | nukutyuwa | nökötyö | nikityaŋin ^y | nikittiyaŋ | niŋkiřiniyaŋka | niŋkiřin ^y t ^y a |
| 3plSP | wutyuwa | wötyö | wityaŋin ^y | wittiyaŋ | wiřiniyaŋka | wiřin ^y t ^y a |

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

205. kan^yakma nöntyö
 cough.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres)
She is coughing standing up.

The bound person-markers are as follows:

| Persons | Past (i) | Present (ii) | Progressive (iii) | Purposive (iv) | Future (v) | Subjunctive (vi) |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 1sgSP | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- | a- |
| 2sgSP | nunt- | nönt- | nint- | nin- | ni- | ni- |
| 3sgmSP | yu- | yö- | yi- | yin- | yi- | wi- |
| 3sgfSP | nunt- | nönt- | nint- | nun- | ni- | wi- |
| 3sgvSP | mu- | mö- | mi- | mun- | mi- | mi- |
| 3sgeSP | wu- | wö- | wi- | wun- | wi- | wi- |
| 1dlSP | aŋku- | aŋkö- | aŋki- | aŋki- | aŋki- | aŋk- |
| 1lcSP | ařt- | ařt- | ařt- | ař- | ařki- | ařk- |
| lexSP | at- | at- | at- | at- | aři- | ař- |
| 2plSP | nukut- | nököt- | nikit- | nikit- | niŋkiri- | niŋkiř- |
| 3plSP | wut- | wöt- | wit- | wit- | wiři- | wiř- |

The tense-markers are as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----|---------------------|--------|--------|----------------------|
| 1sgSP | -yuwa | -yö | -yaŋin ^y | -tiyaŋ | -niyaŋ | -wint ^y a |
| 2sgSP | | | | -tyaŋ | | |
| 3sgmSP | | | | | | |
| 3sgfSP | | | | | | |
| 3sgvSP | | | | | | |
| 3sgeSP | | | | -tyaŋ | | -wint ^y a |
| 1dlSP | | | | -tiyaŋ | | -int ^y a |
| 1lcSP | | | | | | |
| lexSP | | | | | | |
| 2plSP | | | | | | |
| 3plSP | -yuwa | -yö | -yaŋin ^y | -tiyaŋ | -niyaŋ | -int ^y a |

There are five Verb Roots which can take Conjugation 6 only in the plural persons (cf. 3.1.5.):

| | | |
|--------|---------------|----------------------|
| kötap | 1234*5*6(*) | line up |
| kuipak | 1*2345*6(*) | get into a canoe |
| ey | 1234*5(*)6(*) | wound (with a spear) |

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| kark/karark (pl.subj) | 1*234*5(*)6(*) | go up (to a place) |
| wat ^y urupat | 1*2345*6(*) | attempt to fly (of a young bird) |

(Note that all these Verb Roots describe actions involving movement.)

Paradigm 1. Past

206. ga wurma ayuwa
 1sgSP stand up 1sgSP.6(past)
 I stood up.
207. nonton t^yet nuntyuwa
 3sgfSP be born 3sgfSP.6(past)
 She was born.

Paradigm 2. Present

208. meŋkit^ymeŋkit^y kařlakma wötyö
 Sparrow-hawk pick out of ground (and) eat.cnt 3plSP.6(pres)
 Sparrow-hawks pick things out of ground and eat them.
209. yin^ya wuřma yöyö
 man stand up 3sgmSP.6(pres)
 The man stands up.
210. wak kuřkuřma wöyö
 water pull.pull.cnt 3sgmSP.6(pres)
 The current is strong.
211. t^yaŋar t^yet möyö
 spear stand 3sgvSP.6(pres)
 The spear stands up.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

212. yöntön pařatt^tet yīyanin^y
 3sgmSP get up.stand 3sgmSP.6(progr)
 He used to stand up.
213. man wönatt^yet wiyaŋin^yařin^ywörö
 stomach bad.stand 3sgmSP.6(progr).1sgOP.3plOP
 I am sorry for them.
214. t^yöŋ pařkt^yet wiyaŋin^y
 tree grow 3sgvSP.6(progr)
 The tree is growing.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

215. ɲa wuřma atiyaŋ
 lsgSP stand up lsgSP.6(purp)
I'm going up to stand up.

216. pařat nintiyaŋ!
 get up 2sgSP.6(purp)
Get up!

Paradigm 5. Future

217. ɲa pařat aniyaŋka
 lsgSP get up
I will get up.

218. yin^ya muřma wiřiniyaŋka
 man dance.contin 3plSP.6(fut)
The men will dance (in the speaker's vicinity).

Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

219. waŋaři wuřma niwin^yt^ya ɲa wuřma atiyaŋ
 2sgSP stand up 2sgSP.6(subj) lsgSP stand up lsgSP.6(purp)
If you stand up I'll stand up.

3.1.7. Semantic and Deictic Functions: Conclusion

It would appear, on evidence so far, that the semantic function¹⁰ of the auxiliary is relatively slight in relation to its other functions. That is to say, there are other means of introducing the notion of physical posture into the Verb Complex than those provided by the auxiliary conjugations. The cognate verb roots for conjugation 4, 5 and 6, pak, yur and t^yet, can in a number of cases, be conjoined to a Verb Root. This operation forms a compound Verb Root which can take the participial suffix -ali (see 3.2.1.4.; 4.1.4.2.). Thus, for example, the Verb Root tap (grab) is constrained from selecting Conjugation 5:-

*mi tap wörö
 food(veg) grab 3plSP.5(pres)

But the following is acceptable:

220. tapyurali yöyö
 grab.lie.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)
He grabs (it) while lying down.

On the other hand, *muřma dance (of men)* is able to select Conjugation 4 and 5, not in their semantic but in their deictic functions. (The auxiliary characteristically carries no semantic meaning when carrying a deictic function.)

3.1.8. The Morphophonemics of the Bound Subject Person-Markers

The bound person-markers retain a consistency throughout the conjugations. That is to say, they retain, for the most part, a recognizable form throughout the various paradigms.

3.1.8.1. 1sgSP is consistently a low open central unrounded vowel a-.

3.1.8.2. 2sgSP consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal followed by either a high or mid-vowel. The second person singular marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable according to Conjugation and Paradigm. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel can be followed by either a bilabial nasal:

as in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 3.

or an apico-alveolar nasal:

as in the purposive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 and in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 5.

or an apico-alveolar nasal plus homorganic stop:

as in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 6.

This monosyllabic person-marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

- Conjugation 1: nön.töma (purposive); nö.wöntön (sequential); nu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);
- Conjugation 2: nu.ɲun^y (progressive); nun.tuɲ (purposive); nu.nuɲ(ka) (future);
- Conjugation 3: nöm.pöřa (present); num.puřa (past); nön.töřaɲ (purposive); nöm.pöřen^y (progressive); no.nora ka (future);
- Conjugation 4: nu.nuwa (past); nönö (present); ni.niɲin^y (progressive); nin.tini (purposive); ni.niwa (future);
- Conjugation 5: nun.yuwa (past); nön.yö (present); nön.yöɲun^y (progressive); nön.töyɲ (purposive); nö.nöyɲ(ka) (future);
- Conjugation 6: nunt.yuwa (past); nönt.yö (present); nin.tiyaɲ (purposive); ni.niyaɲ (future).

The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: $ni.win^Yt^Ya$; and of Conjugation 4: $ni.winin^Yt^Ya$.

3.1.8.3. $3\&gmSP$ is consistently semi-consonant-initial. With the exception of the subjunctive paradigms of all conjugations and the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1 (which begin with the bilabial semi-consonant), this is the lamino-palatal semi-consonant followed by either a high or mid vowel. The third singular/masculine person markers can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable according to conjugation and paradigm. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel will be followed by an apico-alveolar nasal (as in the purposive paradigms of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conjugation 1: $yi.min^Y$ (punctiliar); $wö.wöntön$ (sequential);
 $wu.wuntuwa$ (subjunctive);

Conjugation 2: $yu.ṇun^Y$ (progressive);

Conjugation 3: $yö.wöfa$ (present); $yu.wura$ (past); $yön.pöfaṇ$ (purposive); $yö.wöfaṇ^Y$ (progressive); $yö.nöfa$ (future);

Conjugation 4: $yu.nuwa$ (past); $yö.nö$ (present); $yi.nigin^Y$ (progressive); $yi.ni$ (purposive); $yi.niwa$ (future);

Conjugation 5: $yu.yuwa$ (past); $yö.yö$ (present); $yö.yöṇun^Y$ (progressive); $yö.nöyṇ(ka)$ (future); $wi.win^Yt^Ya$ (subjunctive);

Conjugation 6: $yu.yuwa$ (past); $yö.yö$ (present); $yi.niyaṅka$ (future).

The subjunctive of Conjugation 2, 5 and 6: $wi.win^Yt^Ya$; and of Conjugation 4: $wi.winin^Yt^Ya$.

3.1.8.4. $3\&gSP$ consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal immediately followed by a high or mid-vowel. In all but the following paradigms this form is identical in shape with that of the second singular person-marker: the punctiliar, sequential and purposive paradigms of Conjugation 1; the subjunctive paradigms of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6; the purposive paradigms of Conjugations 4, 5 and 6.

The third singular feminine person-marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel can be followed by either a bilabial or apico-alveolar nasal or an apico-alveolar nasal plus homorganic stop. This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following

instances. To avoid repetition only those forms non-identical with the second person singular will be exemplified.

Conjugation 1: ni.min^Y (punctiliar); wö.wöntön (sequential);
wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);

Conjugation 2: nun.puŋ (purposive);

Conjugation 3: nön.pöraŋ (purposive);

Conjugation 4: ni.ni (purposive).

The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: wi.win^Yt^Ya; and of Conjugation 4: wi.winin^Yt^Ya.

3.1.8.5. 3&gvSP. This is the person used when the referent is vegetable non-meat food and consistently begins with a bilabial nasal, immediately followed by a high or mid vowel.

The third singular vegetative person marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel will be followed by an apico-alveolar nasal (as in the purposive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conjugation 1: mu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);

Conjugation 2: mu.ŋun^Y (progressive); mun.puŋ (purposive);

Conjugation 3: mö.wöŋa (present); mu.wuŋa (past); mon.poraŋ (purposive); mö.wöŋen^Y (progressive); mö.nöŋa (future);

Conjugation 4: mu.nuwa (past); mö.nö (present); mi.niŋin^Y (progressive); mi.ni (purposive); mi.niwa (future);

Conjugation 5: mu.yuwa (past); mö.yö (present); mö.yöŋun^Y (progressive); mö.nöyuka (future);

Conjugation 6: mu.yuwa (past); mo.yo (present); mi.niyanka (future).

The subjunctive paradigms of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: mi.win^Yt^Ya; and that of Conjugation 4: wi.winin^Yt^Ya.

3.1.8.6. 3&geSP. This form is used when the referent is wood, fire, water, earth (including areal space and stone) and consistently begins with a bilabial semi-consonant immediately followed by either a high or mid vowel. The third person singular sylvan/elemental marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable.

If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel will be followed by an

apico-alveolar nasal (as in the purposive paradigm of Conjugation 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conjugation 1: wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);

Conjugation 2: wu.ɲun^y (progressive); wun.puɲ (purposive);

Conjugation 3: wö.wöřa (present); wu.wuřa (past); wö.npöřaɲ (future);

Conjugation 4: wu.nuwa (past); wö.nö (present); wi.niɲin^y (progressive); wi.ni (purposive); wi.niwa (future);

Conjugation 5: wu.yuwa (past); wö.yö (present); wö.nöyuka (future);

Conjugation 6: wu.yuwa (past); wö.yö (present); wi.niyaɲka (future).

The subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: wi.win^yt^ya; and that of Conjugation 4: wi.winin^yt^ya.

3.1.8.7. *Note.* The phonological shape of 3sgmSP, 3sgvSP and 3sgeSP in the purposive paradigm of each of the conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6 should be noted because it contrasts with the person- and number-equivalent bound Subject Pronouns in the other paradigms. That is to say, the relevant Subject Pronoun markers in the purposive paradigm end in an apico-alveolar nasal, while in the other paradigms they are vowel-final. Comparing the purposive and the future it will be seen that the presence of the apico-alveolar nasal differentiates the person-markers of these two paradigms:

| | Purposive | Future |
|----------------|-----------|----------|
| Person Markers | | |
| 3sgmSP | | |
| Conjugation 2 | yön- | yö- |
| Conjugation 3 | yön- | yö- |
| Conjugation 5 | yön- | yö- |
| Conjugation 6 | yin- | yi- |
| Tense Markers | | |
| Conjugation 2 | -puɲ | -nuɲka |
| Conjugation 3 | -pöřaɲ | -nöřaɲka |
| Conjugation 5 | -yuɲ | -nöyuɲ |
| Conjugation 6 | -tyaɲ | -niyaɲka |

3.1.8.8. 1dlSP consistently begins with a low open central unrounded vowel /a/ immediately followed by a dorso-velar nasal plus homorganic stop: aɲk-. This person marker can be realized by either the closed

monosyllable: aŋk- or by an open disyllable: aŋk- plus a subsequent high, mid or low vowel. The closed monosyllabic realization occurs in the subjunctive paradigms of conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, and in the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1. The open disyllabic realization occurs in the purposive and future paradigms of all conjugations, the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, the past and present paradigms of Conjugations 3, 4, 5 and 6, the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2 and the punctiliar paradigm of Conjugation 1.

3.1.8.9. *licSP*. This is consistently a low open central unrounded vowel immediately followed by a vibrant (flapped) /ř/ which is in turn, in most cases followed by a dorso-velar or apico-alveolar stop: ařk-ařt-. In the cases where the vibrant (flapped) /r/ is not followed by a stop¹¹ the contrast between Inclusive and Exclusive (see 3.1.8.10.) person-markers in the given paradigm is maintained by the Exclusive person-marker's realization as a low open central unrounded vowel followed by an apico-alveolar stop. This case is exemplified in the past, present, progressive and purposive paradigms of Conjugation 3:

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>licSP</i> | ař- | ař- | ař- | ař- |
| <i>lexSP</i> | at- | at- | at- | at- |
| | (Past) | (Present) | (Progressive) | (Purposive) |

Where the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ is followed by a dorso-velar stop this cluster can be followed by a high, mid, or low vowel, as in the following paradigms: the future paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6; the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2 and 3; and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.

3.1.8.10. *lexSP* consistently begins with a low open central unrounded vowel immediately followed by either a vibrant (flapped) /ř/ or an apico-alveolar stop. In the future paradigm all conjugations, in the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2 and 3, and in the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3 the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ can be followed by a high, mid or low vowel. Whenever the first person exclusive marker terminates in an apico-alveolar stop, this stop stands as the first consonant of a geminate cluster. In such instances the germination is morphologically motivated: the tense/aspect marker begins with an apico-alveolar stop and the shape of the first person exclusive marker distinguishes it from the first person singular marker: e.g. in the purposive paradigm of Conjugation 1 (*lexSP*) at.töma is opposed to (*lsgSP*) a.töma. (Other cases of morphologically motivated gemination involving this person marker also occur in the purposive paradigm of Conjugations

2-6, inclusive in the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2, and in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 4.)

If, the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop (ařk-) the initial /a/ of the first person exclusive marker, in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 3 and 5, in the punctiliar and sequential paradigms of Conjugation 1, and in the progressive paradigm of Conjugation 2 will be followed by a vibrant (flapped) /ř/. The second person plural and third person plural markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the ř-form. If, however, the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ of the first person inclusive marker is immediately followed by an apico-alveolar stop (ařt-), the initial /a/ of the first person exclusive is also followed by an apico-alveolar stop (at-) in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 4 and 6. The second person plural and third person plural markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the t-form. The only exception to the rule occur in the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 5. In these paradigms although the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ apico-alveolar stop the first person exclusive marker is not at- but ař-, thereby distinguishing the first person exclusive of these paradigms (ařuwa and ařö, respectively) from that in the corresponding paradigms of Conjugation 6 (atywa and atyö, respectively).

3.1.8.11. 2płSP consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal immediately followed by a high or mid vowel. This person marker can be realized by either a closed disyllable or an open trisyllable. A closed disyllable will end in either a vibrant (flapped) /r/ (as in the subjunctive paradigm of all conjugations, the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 5, and the punctiliar and sequential paradigms of Conjugation 1); or it will end in an apico-alveolar stop (as in the purposive paradigm of all conjugations, the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2, and the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 4 and 6.) The second vowel of a disyllable will always duplicate the first, and the third vowel of an open trisyllable will duplicate the two preceding. Between the second and third vowels of an open trisyllable a vibrant (flapped) /ř/ occurs (as in the future paradigms of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, the progressive paradigms of Conjugations 2 and 3, and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.)

If the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop the second person plural marker will be characterized by an ř-form. Alternatively, if the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by an apico-alveolar stop the second person plural marker will be characterized by a t-form.

The ʔ-form always contains an intervocalic cluster of dorso-velar nasal followed by a homorganic stop. The t-form on the other hand has a dorso-velar stop but no dorso-velar nasal.

3.1.8.12. 3_{pl}SP consistently begins with a bilabial semi-consonant followed by a high or mid vowel. This person marker can be realized by either a closed monosyllable or an open disyllable. If the vibrant (flapped) /ʔ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop the closed monosyllabic third person plural marker will terminate in a vibrant (flapped) /ʔ/ (as in the subjunctive) paradigm of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, the punctiliar and sequential paradigms of Conjugation 1 and the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 5.) If, alternatively, the vibrant (flapped) /ʔ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by an apico-alveolar stop the closed monosyllabic third person plural marker will terminate in an apico-alveolar stop (as in the purposive paradigms of all conjugations, the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 4 and 6, and the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2.)

If the third person plural marker is realized by an open disyllable a vibrant (flapped) /ʔ/ will occur between two like vowels (as in the future paradigm of all conjugations, the progressive paradigm of Conjugation 2 and 3, and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.)

3.1.8.13. *The Function of the Bilabial Semi-Consonant in the Sequential Paradigm of Conjugation 1 and the Subjunctive of all Conjugations.*

The tense-marker of the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1 is -öntön. However, owing to the language's systematic avoidance of contiguous vowels (see 1.3.) a bilabial semi-consonant is infixes between the person marker and the vowel-initial tense-marker. Thus, the first person singular:

a- + -öntön > awöntön,

or the second person singular:

nö- + -öntön > nöwöntön

But when the person marker is consonant-final the intrusive semi-consonant is no longer necessary. For example, the first person dual:

aŋk- + -öntön > aŋköntön

or first person exclusive:

ař- + -öntön > ařöntön

A bilabial semi-consonant is, likewise, infixes between an open monosyllabic person marker and a vowel-initial tense-marker in the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. For example, the first

person singular of the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugation 1:

a + -untuwa > awuntuwa

or the second person singular

nu + -untuwa > nuwuntuwa.

Similarly, when the person marker ends in a consonant the intrusive semi-consonant is no longer necessary. The first person dual, for example:

aŋk + -untuwa > aŋkuntuwa

or the first person inclusive:

aŋk- + -untuwa > aŋkuntuwa.

The subjunctive paradigm of Conjugation 4 also makes use of the intervocalic bilabial semi-consonant, as in the first person singular:

a- + -inin^yt^ya > awinin^yt^ya

or the third person singular masculine, feminine or silvan/elemental:

wi- + -inin^yt^ya > wiwinin^yt^ya

while the first person dual is:

aŋk- + -inin^yt^ya > aŋkinin^yt^ya

and the second person plural is:

niŋki- + -inin^yt^ya > niŋkiŋinin^yt^ya.

Finally, the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugation 2, 5 and 6: The first person singular

a- + -in^yt^ya > awin^yt^ya

or the third person singular vegetative:

mi- + -in^yt^ya > miwin^yt^ya

while the first person dual is:

aŋk- + -in^yt^ya > aŋkin^yt^ya

and the first person exclusive is:

aŋ- + -in^yt^ya > aŋin^yt^ya.

3.1.9. Auxiliary Affixes

There are two sets of suffixes that can be attached to the Auxiliary:
(i) focal suffixes, (ii) deictic suffixes.

3.1.9.1. Focal Suffixes; -kka/-kna

The focal suffix is a device for marking (or emphasizing) a word class in sentence structure. -kka/-kna are focal suffixes attachable to the Auxiliary.

The geminated dorso-velar stop in -kka is justified on the following grounds:

Within the phonological word formed by focal suffixation, the suffixal consonants always occur intervocalically because -kka/-kna can only be suffixed to auxiliaries ending in a low open central unrounded vowel /a/.

-kka constitutes an exception to the general rule that intervocalic stops are voiced. The dorso-velar stop is voiceless. To be consistent with the only other attested case of voiceless intervocalic stops (see 3.1.8.10.) the voiceless dorso-velar stop is interpreted as a geminate cluster.

-kka/-kna are in free variation and mark (or emphasize) the Verb Complex to which either of them is suffixed.

221. wi alimiři anti cyma wuttakka
fight ts adv.(recip) spear.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past).foc
 wuttakna
 3plSP.2(pres/past).foc
They used to fight one another with spears.

222. nöntön naman wuwuntuwařin^yt^yakna
 3sgfSP speak 3sgfSP.1(subj).lsgOP.foc
She would have spoken to me.

223. parakut kiman^y pak wuttuwakna
 white man ss.dpf sit splSP.4(past).foc
White men stayed here.

224. aquntu t^yeřat wutyuwakka
 ts born(pl.S) 3plSP.6(past).foc
Afterwards they were born.

Where -kka/-kna occurs with a Verb Complex containing a suffixed Object Pronoun the focal suffix always follows the latter (as in 221, above).

225. antiman^yğa te aqma wiwin^yařin^yt^yakna¹²
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.2(subj).lsgOP.foc
 anti akana aq anuqnöwakka
 adv(recip) adv(neg) give lsgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc
He could have given me meat but didn't, so I won't give him any.

3.1.9.2. Focal Suffixes; -na/-ta

The focal suffixes -na/-ta have the following distribution: They can be suffixed to auxiliaries ending in an apico-alveolar or lamino-alveolar nasal:

as opposed to:

234. *teyma aḡkanuḡkaḡay i

That is, -ka > -wa, following a vowel-final Object Pronoun.

Another morphophonemic change occurs when the first person singular object pronoun is suffixed to the future paradigm of any conjugation. Because the first person singular object pronoun (-aḡin^Y) ends in a lamino-alveolar nasal the dorso-velar stop/bilabial semi-consonant (of the -ka/-wa suffix) becomes a homorganic lamino-alveolar stop:

235. teyma yōnuḡaḡin^Yt^Ya
wait.cnt 3sgmSP.2(fut).lsgOP
He will wait for me.

236. mi aḡ yinmaḡin^Yt^Ya
food(veg) give 3sgmSP.1(fut).lsgOP
He will give me (veg) food.

The purposive and future paradigms of Conjugation 1 are distinguished in the third person singular by the absence and presence, respectively, of the suffix -wa (see 3.1.1.). Correspondingly, when the first person singular object pronoun is suffixed to the purposive or future of Conjugation 1 in the third person singular the purposive and future paradigms are distinguished by the absence or presence, respectively, of the suffix -t^Ya:

Purposive:

237. mi aḡ yinmaḡin^Y
food(veg) give 3sgmSP.1(purp).lsgOP
He is going to give me (veg) food.

Future:

238. mi aḡ nunmaḡin^Yt^Ya
food(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(fut).lsgOP
She will give me (veg) food.

Purposive:

239. mi aḡ nunmaḡin^Y
food(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(purp).lsgOP
She is going to give me (veg) food.

-ka } > -t^Ya following the lamino-alveolar nasal of the first
-wa } person-singular object pronoun.

From the future paradigm of Conjugation 3:

240. yöntön t^yeyantak yönöřaŋka
 3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut)
He will go on listening.

and:

241. yöntön t^yeyantak yönöřaŋnōwa
 3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut).3sgmOP
He will go on listening to him.

as opposed to:

242. *yöntön t^yeyantak yönöřaŋkanō

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 4:

243. ŋa pak anuwa
 lsgSP sit lsgSP.4(past)
I sat down.

and:

244. tε aŋma anunōwa
 meat give.cnt lsgSP.4(past).3sgmOP
I was giving him meat.

as opposed to:

245. *tε aŋma anuwanō

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 5:

246. wöřöntön ŋuřŋut wuřuwa
 3plSP sleep 3plSP.5(past)
They slept.

247. tε kölpma wuřuŋayiwa
 meat roast.cnt 3plSP.5(past).3sgfOP
They were roasting meat for her.

as opposed to:

248. *tε kölpma wuřuwaŋayi

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 6:

249. wöřöntön t^yεřat wutyuwa
 3plSP born(plS) 3plSP.6(past)
They were born.

250. wöřöntön eyma wutyunöwa
 3plSP spear.cnt 3plSP.6(past).3sgmOP
They were spearing him.

as opposed to:

251. *wöřöntön eyma wutyuwanö

3.1.9.4. Deictic Affixes Suffixable to the Auxiliaries

-(a)nki(na) and -ŋa which are towards speaker and away from speaker, respectively. They are suffixable to the auxiliary of each conjugation except Conjugation 1 (see 3.1.9.5.).

If the auxiliary ends in a vowel, -nki is suffixed, as in

252. ka yitanki
 come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He came.
253. pulit^y pak yönönkina
 old man sit down 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc.loc
The old man sits down over here.
254. pulit^y yur yöyönkina
 old man lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres).dc.loc
The old man is lying down over here.

In the case of the auxiliary ending in a consonant -nki is suffixed as in

255. ka yönpuŋanki
 come 3sgmSP.2(purp).dc
Let him come over here.

-ŋa is suffixable both to the vowel- and consonant-final stems:

256. pi yitaŋa
 go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He went over there.
257. waŋaři pi nuntuŋa
 2sgSP go 2sgSP.2(purp)dc
Go over there!

3.1.9.5. Conjugation 1 and the Deictic Suffix

A Verb Complex with a Conjugation 1 auxiliary can take the deictic suffix -ŋa, but not -(a)nki(na). Furthermore, -ŋa is suffixed not to the auxiliary but to the verb root.

258. numuřu kařturukřa ayanö
 eye poke out.dc lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I poked his eyes out over there.

or

259. te t^yeřin^y tatřa ayanö
 clf goanna find.dc lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I found a goanna over there.

The only encountered case of metathesis involves -řa suffixation.
 wiřřak: *finished* (which has distribution of an adverb, see 2.1.5.) has
 been interpreted in this description as a metathesis of

wiřřkřa
finish.dc

3.2.0. Affixes Prefixable to the Verb Root

3.2.0.1. par-: *elsewhere* (with the derived meanings: *wrong place*).

260. yeřa parwuřkamma wutta
 adv dc.work.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
At that point of time they were working elsewhere.
261. akana pi attuř tek yawuk part^yuřřkmanö
 adv(neg) go lexSP.2(purp) country adj dc.bury.cnt.3sgmOP
We are not going to another country to bury him.
262. wařaři parka nunta
 2sgSP dc.come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
You have come to the wrong place.

3.2.0.2. iup-: *together*

263. iuppakali ařřtini
 together.sit.ptcpl 1lcSP.4(purp)
We'll all sit together.
264. iupyurali ařřtöyüř
 together.lie.ptcpl 1lcSP.5(purp)
We'll all lie together.
265. iupt^yeřřatali ařřřtiyař
 together.stand(plS).ptcpl 1lcSP.6(purp)
We'll all stand together.

266. luppima wutta
together.go they.2(pres/past)
They are friends.

3.2.0.3. taŋ-: *still* (cp Temporal Specifier t^yintaŋ see 2.1.4.1.):-

267. t^yöŋ taŋt^yet wiyaŋin^y
tree dc.stand 3sgSP.6(progr)
The tree is still there.

3.2.1. Affixes Suffixable to the Verb Root

3.2.1.1. -nö when suffixed to a verb root acquires an Intensive force (see 4.1.4.1.):

268. ŋöyö ka yönuŋka watwatmanö
ts come 3sgmSP.2(fut) fish.int
Tomorrow he will come to fish.

3.2.1.2. -teik/-puk are markers of the modality of possibility, with the accompanying auxiliary always in the purposive. -teik, but not -puk, can be preceded by the continuative suffix -ma.

269. t^yöŋ tuŋpma^yteik wönpuŋ
wood catch fire.cnt.possib 3sgSP.2(purp)
Wood might catch fire.

270. yin^ya ŋiŋkpuk yinma
man die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)
Man might die.

271. wi iamteik atuŋŋayi
fight talk.possib 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgfOP
I might have an argument with her.

272. te ma ey^ypuk atöma
clf wallaby kill.possib 1sgSP.1(purp)
I might kill wallaby.

273. wakyen tutmateik
water.comit caus.cnt.possib
Might get wet.

3.2.1.3. -ma is a continuative suffix.

274. Mission-na pima aṇun^y
Mission.loc go.cnt lsgSP.2(progr)
I used to go to the Mission.

The sole constraint on its occurrence is that it cannot co-occur with Auxiliary Conjugation 1. Every verb root carrying the suffix -ma can take Conjugation 2 as auxiliary. The conjugation that co-occurs most characteristically with the -ma suffix is Conjugation 2. In fact the typical effect of -ma suffixation (or -ma conversion, as this will be called subsequently) is to make the Verb Root in question accessible to Auxiliary Conjugation 2.

275. mi aṇ ayanö
food give lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I gave him food.

becomes, when -ma is suffixed to the Verb Root:

276. mi aṇma atanö
food give lsgSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
I am giving him food.

The reason for the incompatibility of -ma with Conjugation 1 is that Conjugation 1 expresses actions which are performed once only (cf. Punctiliar paradigm see 3.1.1.):

277. yin^ya ḡiṛk yimin^y
man die 3sgmSP.1(punct)
Man died.

278. tat ayanö
see/find lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I found him.

as opposed to:

279. tatma yita
see.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is alive.

pak provides another example of the effect of ma- suffixation on the semantic content of a verb root:

- pak + Conjugation 4 *Sit down.*
 pak.ma + Conjugation 2 *Live (in a location).*

It has been noted that, in the following instances, -ma has an inchoative (see 4.1.6.) effect on the word class to which it is suffixed:

280. yeři puluma wöyö
 track dust(NP).cnt 3sgeSP.5(pres)
The track is dusty.

281. ɲa leřpma aɲun^Y
 lsgSP hot(A).cnt lsgSP.2(progr)
I am hot.

282. ɲa tumuřkma aɲun^Y
 lsgSP cold(A).cnt lsgSP.2(progr)
I am cold.

3.2.1.4. -ali is a participial suffix (see 4.1.4.2.)

283. eyali yita
 spear.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is/was wounded.

284. yeřaman^Y puřpali wöyö
 adv.dpf burn.ptcpl 3sgeSP.6(pres)¹³
There is already a fire.

285. te yeřaman^Y ɲöyatali yöyö
 meat adv.dpf cook.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)¹⁴
Meat is already cooked.

With the three standard postural Verb Roots, pak, yur and t^Yet (t^Yεřat with a plural subject, see 3.2.4.1.) the participle-formation is supplemented by the prefixation of ap-:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| appakali | sitting |
| apyurali | lying |
| apt ^Y εřatali | standing |

Furthermore, in these instances the participial Verb Root tends to follow, rather than precede, the auxiliary:

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 286. yönö appakali | he is sitting down all the time |
| yöyö apyurali | he is lying down all the time |
| wötyö apt ^Y εřatali | they are standing up all the time. |

3.2.2. The 'Departing From' Suffix -man^Y

-man^Y is a suffix with the basic meaning 'departing from'. Its function include elative (see 3.3.5.2.), negation (see 3.2.3.; 3.2.7.1.2.) and the foregrounding of the actor from whom the action proceeds (see 3.3.5.2.3.) or of the action itself (see 3.2.2.). In the latter case

-man^Y can be suffixed to a verb root or to auxiliary Conjugation 4. The highly restricted distribution of -man^Y within the auxiliary conjugation system remains as yet largely unexplained. It is the deictic meaning of Conjugation 4 (see 3.1.4.) that is foregrounded.

287. yin^Ya wöttöman^Y mi tiŋkiři möřpmöřpma
 (initiated) man 3plSP.4(pres).dpf clf *bush-apple* *munch.cnt*
 wöttö
 3plSP.4(pres)
 These men are munching bush-apple.

288. muta ki yönöman^Y te wat yimin^Y
 ts ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).dpf *meat* *send* 3sgmSP.1(punct)
 Later this (fellow) here sent the meat.

289. payp wuřkman^Y awuntuwa waka awin^Yt^Ya kina
 pipe fill.dpf lsgSP.1(subj) *bring* lsgSP.2(subj) *ss.loc*
 arpuŋ anmawa
 smoke lsgSP.1(punct)
 I would have filled and brought my pipe here to smoke.

290. lakma yita lakma
 eat(meat) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) *eat(meat).cnt*
 yita ŋalkman^Y tikpi yita
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) *full up.dpf* *back.go* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He's eating and eating (meat) and goes back full up.

3.2.3. Negation Suffixes and the Adversative

-tan and -wur are Adversative affixes that are suffixed to the Verb Root. The Adversative renders of no account the action described by the Verb Root to which it is suffixed. The difference between these is distributional: -wur can only be suffixed to verb roots; -tan can be suffixed to both verb roots and lexical adjectives (see 3.2.7.1.2.). But only when suffixed to a verb root does -tan have an adversative function; when suffixed to a lexical adjective it is simply a negation marker.

3.2.3.1. -tan:

291. kaytan ayanö
 call.av lsgSP.1(pres/past).3sgmOP
 I called him but there was no reply.

292. tikkatan yönəkakka
back.come.av 3sgmSP.2(fut).foc
He will not be coming back.
293. tıŋkiri muřtan
bush-apple ripe
The bush apples aren't ripe.
294. te ƣöyatalitan
meat cook.ptcpl.av
The meat isn't cooked yet.
295. ƣetanma ata
breathe.av.cnt 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
I am short of breath.
296. ari tarartarartan aya
door knock.av 1sgSP.1(punct)
I knocked on the door but no one came.

3.2.3.2. -wur:

297. yöntön tatwur wöwöntön
3sgmSP find.adv 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
He found nothing.
298. nöntön peřatwur wöwöntön
3sgfSP dig.av 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
She digs and gets nothing.
299. tatwur ayanunu
see.av 1sgSP.1(punct).2sgOP
You are missing.

3.2.3.3. -man^yƣa

-man^yƣa is a negation marker that can be suffixed to lexical Adjectives (3.2.7.1.2.), to the reciprocal adverb *anti*, and to Auxiliary Conjugation 4. There are two problems here. Firstly, the highly restricted distribution of -man^yƣa remains as yet largely unexplained (cf. 3.2.2.). Secondly, the function of the suffix -ƣa in this environment is not entirely clear either. When suffixed to an Auxiliary -ƣa (see 3.1.9.4.) has the deictic meaning 'away from the speaker'. Suffixed to -man^y-, however, -ƣa does not realize a deictic meaning. In example 300 below, for example, the deictic function is realized by the spatial specifier

gun, and in example 301 by the Auxiliary itself. The hypothesis is that in certain environments -*ŋa* distinctively marks the negative function of -*man*^Y. This is put forward on the following grounds:

1. The suffix -*man*^Y ('departing from') has an implicit negative meaning which remains merely latent in the relative and foregrounding functions (see 3. .2.; 3.2.7.1.2.). For example, when -*man*^Y is suffixed to the reciprocal adverb *anti* it has an explicitly negative function; -*man*^Y is in free variation with -*man*^Y*ŋa* in this particular environment.

300. *gun anuwaman*^Y*ŋa*
 ss lsgSP.4(past).neg.dc
I wasn't there.

301. [*yiniwaman*^Y *a*] [tənö pi yönun^Y*ka*]
 3sgmSP.4(purp).neg meat.int go 3sgmSP.2(fut)
He won't be here; he's going hunting.

antiman^Y/*antiman*^Y*ŋa* has the following restricted distribution: it only occurs sentence-initially with the governing auxiliary in the subjunctive mood:

302. *antiman*^Y
antiman^Y*ŋa* tɛ aŋma wiwin^Yaŋin^Yt^Yakna
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.2(subj).lsgOP.foc
anti akana aŋ anunŋnōwakka
 adv(recip) adv(neg) give lsgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc
He wouldn't give me meat so I won't give him (any).

303. *antiman*^Y
antiman^Y*ŋa* tɛ aŋma wiwin^Yarin^Yt^Yakna
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.2(subj).lsgOP.foc
 tɛ aŋ awuntunōwakka
 meat give lsgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc
If he had been giving me meat I would give him some.

2. Precisely because of the relative and foregrounding functions of -*man*^Y the negative function is explicitly marked when suffixed to lexical adjectives or to auxiliary Conjugation 4. The same NP (see 4.1.8.) can take the suffix -*man*^Y in either its foregrounding function, for example, or its negative function:

304. *alalk yikpiman*^Y ŋatankat^Y yuyuwa
 child little(sgm).dpf wrong 3sgmSP.6(past)
The little boy was wrong.

305. alalk ylkpiman^Yηa waʃatpi yita
child little(sgm).dpf(neg) walkabout.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The big boy goes/went walkabout.

Similarly, -man^Y can be suffixed to Auxiliary Conjugation 4 in either its foregrounding or its negative function:

306. [ki nönöman^Y alawarman^Y] [akana teylamma
 ss 3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf woman.dpf adv(neg) wait.talk.cnt
 nunta]
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
This woman here is not waiting to talk.

307. alawar nönöman^Yηa
 woman 3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf(neg)
The woman isn't here.

3.2.4. Reduplication of the Verb Root

The reduplication of the verb root in MalakMalak denotes repeated action. Reduplicated roots take reduplicated primary stress (see 1.6.).

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| lamlam | <i>talk</i> |
| pit ^Y pit ^Y | <i>rub firesticks</i> |
| puʃuŋpuʃuŋ | <i>boil</i> |
| tara ^r tarar | <i>knock (on door)</i> |
| tarattarat | <i>watch</i> |
| telkɲatɛlkɲa | <i>singe hair off wallaby</i> |
| tuytuy | <i>stretch (intr)</i> |
| t ^Y ölt ^Y öl | <i>dust something down</i> |
| t ^Y utt ^Y ut | <i>leak</i> |
| tultul | <i>get angry</i> |
| mirmir | <i>melt</i> |
| yakayakay | <i>scream</i> |
| arar | <i>dry</i> |
| ŋakŋak | <i>eat (a lot)</i> |

3.2.4.1. There is also a *Partial Reduplication of the Verb Root*, with a pluralizing effect. That is, if the verb root is intransitive the subject is pluralized; if transitive the object is pluralized.

The Phonological Nature of Partial Deduplication

Only certain one or two-syllable verb roots can undergo this process. Partial reduplication involves the reduplication of the vocalic nucleus of a monosyllable¹⁵ and of the second vowel of a di-syllable. Partial

reduplication also typically involves the introduction of a liquid between the reduplicated vowels.¹⁶ This liquid is usually either a continuant *r* or a vibrant *ř*. A lateral is introduced only where one is already present word-finally (see *wil* and *tikel*, below).

If a di-syllable has a continuant *r* intervocalically, for example *larap: tie*, or if a monosyllable has a continuant *r* or a vibrant *ř* as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, for example *kark: proceed*, *yarp: rub*, then the reduplicated vowel will be followed immediately by a continuant *r*.

Partial reduplication has the regular alternate syllable stress pattern (see 1.6.), with primary stress falling on the first syllable.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------|
| <i>lie down</i> | <i>yur</i> | <i>yurur</i> | pl S |
| <i>stand/be born</i> | <i>t^yet</i> | <i>t^yεřat</i> | pl S |
| <i>take out</i> | <i>karkwat</i> | <i>kararkwarat</i> | pl O |
| <i>cut</i> | <i>t^yurp</i> | <i>t^yuřurp</i> | pl O |
| 1. <i>bury</i> } | <i>t^yurk</i> | <i>t^yuřurk</i> | pl O |
| 2. <i>enter</i> } | | | pl S |
| <i>get up</i> | <i>parat</i> | <i>pařatat</i> | pl O |
| <i>cause</i> | <i>tut</i> | <i>turut</i> | pl S |
| <i>eat (meat)</i> | <i>lak</i> | <i>larak</i> | pl O |
| <i>talk</i> | <i>lam</i> | <i>laram</i> | pl S |
| <i>walkabout</i> | <i>wařat</i> | <i>wařarat</i> | pl S |
| <i>hit</i> | <i>tat^y</i> | <i>tarat^y</i> | pl O |
| <i>grow up</i> | <i>tik</i> | <i>tirik (+ Conj. 4)</i> | pl S |
| <i>lie down</i> | <i>tikel</i> | <i>tikelal</i> | pl S |
| <i>make</i> | <i>t^yen^y</i> | <i>t^yen^yen^y</i> | pl O |
| <i>grab</i> | <i>tap</i> | <i>tarap</i> | pl O |
| <i>pluck</i> | <i>t^yukat^y</i> | <i>t^yukarat^y</i> | pl O |
| <i>name/mention</i> | <i>niwat</i> | <i>niwarat</i> | pl O |
| <i>dive</i> | <i>kupuk</i> | <i>kuwpuk</i> | pl S |
| <i>bind</i> | <i>larap</i> | <i>lararp</i> | pl O |
| <i>swim</i> | <i>wil</i> | <i>wilil</i> | |
| <i>rub</i> | <i>yařp</i> | <i>yařarp</i> | pl O |
| <i>load (into canoe)</i> | <i>kulpat</i> | <i>kulparat</i> | pl O |
| <i>go up</i> | <i>kark</i> | <i>karark</i> | pl S |
| <i>break</i> | <i>tapak</i> | <i>tapöřök</i> | pl O |
| <i>find</i> | <i>tat</i> | <i>tarat</i> | pl O |

3.2.5. Compound Verb Roots

The Lexical Verb in MalakMalak is, in a number of instances, compound. By this is meant the combination of two (or sometimes, more) lexical verb roots combining to form a single expanded unit. The meaning of the

expanded unit is now always the sum of the meanings of the parts. For example:

t^yalkyur which, literally, is *fall* and *lie* means *bend over*. Even so, a large number of lexical verb roots derive their meaning from the relations of the combined parts.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| tuřk.wat | <i>drink.send</i> | : <i>swallow</i> |
| t ^y uřk.wat | <i>enter.send</i> | : <i>put inside</i> |
| kat ^y .wat | <i>throw.send</i> | : <i>let go</i> |
| aŋ.wat | <i>give.send</i> | : <i>send over</i> |
| wa.kark.wat | <i>pick up.come up.send</i> | : <i>take out</i> |
| wa.tik.pi | <i>pick up.back.go</i> | : <i>take back</i> |
| tik.ka | <i>back.come</i> | : <i>come back</i> |
| kat ^y .yi.pi | <i>throw.leave.go</i> | : <i>leave (tr)</i> |
| kat.parar | <i>play.around</i> | : <i>play around</i> |
| ŋalk.yur | <i>full up.lie down</i> | : <i>settle down</i> |
| kař.lak | <i>prod in ground.eat(meat)</i> | : <i>pick out of ground (and) eat</i> |
| kal.t ^y et | <i>carry.stand</i> | : <i>carry on head</i> |
| kuř.wa.pi | <i>pull.pick up.go</i> | : <i>drag along</i> |
| lam.t ^y ak | <i>talk.stop</i> | : <i>stop</i> |
| pin ^y .wa.ka | <i>get water.pick up.come</i> | : <i>get water and bring it</i> |
| pul ^y p.yur | <i>extinguish.lie down</i> | : <i>die down (of fire)</i> |
| tik.tat | <i>back.look</i> | : <i>look back</i> |
| pat.ka.wa | <i>fly.come.pick up</i> | : <i>fly in (and) pick up</i> |

3.2.6. The Morphology of Nouns and Lexical Adjectives

MalakMalak is a multiple-classifying language. Noun-class constitutes a sub-classification of the word-class: Noun. MalakMalak groups its nouns into four classes, three of which are overtly marked by a generic classifier that immediately precedes the specific noun; the fourth is a residual class with no overt marking. The classifiers are as follows:

1. mi - is a free form classifying *plants* and *vegetable food*, which can occur as the generic noun for non-meat food.
2. te - is a free form classifying *animals hunted for meat*, which can occur as the generic noun for meat itself.
3. t^yöŋ - is a free form classifying *trees*, which can occur as a

generic noun for tree or wood covering (O'Grady 1960)
 what actually is (*tree/wood*) or potentially could be
 (*fire*).

4. The residual morphologically unmarked class includes everything else: parts of the body, kinship terms, natural phenomena, weapons, etc.

For example, from the four Noun Classes:

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| mi yilik | <i>lily-root</i> |
| te ma | <i>wallaby</i> |
| t ^y öŋ mařir | <i>paper-bark tree</i> (paper-bark itself: yeli) |
| mantulma | <i>heart</i> |
| puntu | <i>head</i> |

The only instance of two homonymous words being differentiated by classifier is the following:

| | |
|--------|-------------------------|
| mi wöt | <i>water cabbage</i> |
| te wöt | <i>type of flatfish</i> |

In terms of O'Grady's formulation of what actually is or potentially could be (op.cit.)

te pit^yak means both *bee* and *honey*.

Through mythological usage pululuy (*rainbow*) takes the classifier te - te pululuy. Because the banyan produces an edible fruit pön^yö (*banyan tree*) takes the classifier mi, as does yařin^y (*palm tree*)

3.2.7. Adjectival Concord

The adjectival concord system reflects the four third person singular bound subject pronoun markers within the auxiliary conjugations (see 3.1.8.3.-6.):

308. yin^ya t^yalk yita
man fall 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The man falls/fell.
- alawar t^yalk nunta
woman fall 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
The woman falls/fell.
- mi t^yalk muta
food fall 3sgvSP.2(pres/past)
The fruit falls/fell.

t^yöŋ t^yalk wuta
tree fall 3sgeSP.2(pres/past)
The tree falls/fell.

For a small set of lexical adjectives¹⁷ there is a concordal relation with the noun, reflecting just the third singular subjectival concord exemplified above. The adjectival set comprises the following (exemplified in the masculine singular form):

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| yunpayin - yinat | <i>good - bad</i> |
| yinali - yikpi | <i>big - little</i> |
| yinanki - yönörön | <i>young - old</i> |
| yint ^y εřik | <i>short</i> |

(The adjective yint^y rik (*short*) is the marked member of the *long/short* antithesis in that it is morphologically marked for concord, whereas t^yalala (*long*) is invariable.)

309. *Good:*

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| yin ^y a | yunpayin |
| <i>man</i> | <i>good (sgm)</i> |
| alawar | nunpayin |
| <i>woman</i> | <i>good (sgf)</i> |
| mi | munpayin |
| <i>(veg) food</i> | <i>good (sgv)</i> |
| t ^y öŋ | wunpayin |
| <i>tree</i> | <i>good (sge)</i> |

Good-bad, big-little, and short also have plural forms.¹⁸ Those for yunpayin are as follows:

310.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| yin ^y a | yunpanpan |
| <i>man</i> | <i>good (plm)</i> |
| alawar | nunpanpan |
| <i>woman</i> | <i>good (plf)</i> |
| mi | yilik |
| clf | <i>lily-root</i> |
| | munpanpan |
| | <i>good (plv)</i> |
| t ^y öŋ | wunpanpan |
| <i>tree</i> | <i>good (ple)</i> |

311. *Bad:*

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| yin ^y a | yinat | (pl. yinařat) |
| <i>man</i> | <i>bad (sgm)</i> | |

- alawar nönat (pl. nönařat)
 woman bad
- mi mönat (pl. mönařat)
 food bad
- t^yöŋ wönat (pl. wönařat)
 tree bad
312. *Big:* yin^ya yinali (pl. yiner)
 man big
- alawar nunali (pl. nuner)
 woman big
- mi yilik munali (pl. muner)
 clf lily-root big
- t^yöŋ wunali (pl. wunet)
 tree big
313. *Little:* yin^ya yikpi (pl. yinmeyit^y)
 man little (sgm)
- alawar nikpi (pl. ninmeyit^y)
 woman little (sgf)
- t^yaŋar mikpi (pl. minmeyit^y)
 spear small (sgv)
- t^yöŋ/walk wikpi (pl. winmeyit^y)
 tree/stone small (sge)
314. *Old:* yin^ya yönörön
 man old (sgm)
- alawar nönörön
 woman old (sgf)
- t^yaŋar mönörön
 spear old (sgv)
- t^yöŋ wönörön
 tree old (sge)
315. *New/Young:* alalk yinanki
 child young (sgm)

alalk nunanki
child young (sgf)

muyin^y yinanki
dog young (sgm)

t^yaŋar munanki
spear new (sgv)

t^yöŋ wunanki
tree new (sge)

316. *Short:* yin^ya yint^yεřik (pl. yönt^yöřök)
man short (sgm)

alawar nint^yεřik (pl. nönt^yöřök)
woman short (sgf)

t^yaŋar mint^yεřik (pl. mönt^yöřök)
spear short (sgv)

t^yöŋ wint^yεřik (pl. wönt^yöřök)
tree short (sge)

The semantic field of nouns taking *y*-concord includes: *male humans (and animals)*; *edible meat*; *parts of the body*; *certain weapons used for killing humans*; and *rain (and tide)*.

317. ŋa t^yet yönörön
 lsgSP parent old
My old father.

te yunpayin
meat good (sgm)

karala yunpayin yita
body good (sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He's happy.

wal^yimpa yikpi
axe small (sgm)

kurmin^y yinali
single hook-spear big (sgm)

pirpen yinat
shovel-nosed spear bad (sgm)

mata ylnali
rain big (sgm)

ḡampat^y yinali
tide big (sgm)

The semantic field of nouns taking n-concord includes: *female humans (and animals); the sun and stars.*

318. wiyaḡ nönörön
mother old (sgf)

miři nunpayin
sun good (sgf)

nömöřöl nikpl
star small (sgf)

The semantic field of nouns taking m-concord includes: *non-meat food; parts of the body directly associated with food and speech; weapons and implements for obtaining food (meat and non-meat); 'Language' and 'story'.*

319. mi mun^yt^yalk munanki
clf lily young (sgv)

pön^y munali
belly big (sgv)

ḡantllk mönat
tongue bad (sgv) (i.e. sore tongue)

man^yik petiřk munali
adam's apple big (sgv)

maparak mönat
(long) mangrove spear bad (sgv)

meřmöt mönat
fishing spear bad (sgv)

t^yinparaḡ mönat
stone spear bad (sgv)

yeḡ mönörön
yam-stick old (sgv)

ḡuluk mönörön
language old (sgv)

mařin^y munpayin
story good (sgv)

The semantic field of nouns taking w-concord includes: *trees, wooden objects and fire; natural phenomena; European implements; and 'stomach'.*

320. wenti wunali
canoe big (sge)

kukpinti wunali
one-handle big (sge)

t^yöŋ wunpayin
fire good (sge)

waliwali wunali
river big (sge)

tek wunali
country big (sge)

yeři wunpayin
road good (sge)

walk wikpi
stone/hill little (sge)

pantan wikpi
stone axe small (sge)

pepema wunali
wind big (sge)

työŋ wunali
fire big (sge)
'shot gun'

t^yöŋ wikpi
fire little (sge)
'22'

t^yöŋ win^yt^yεřik
fire short (sge)
revolver

yint^yin wunpayin
engine good (sge)

tɛl wönat
buttock bad (sge)
'flat type'

man wönat
stomach bad (sge)

3.2.7.1. Modification of Adjectives

3.2.7.1.1. Comparison

nan is a free comparative particle that immediately precedes the word class that it modifies (see 2.1.6.).

321. walk kiwa [nan lapař] wuta yawuk
stone ss.foc ptcl(comp) light 3sgeSP.2(pres/past) other

t^yuřma wöyö
heavy.cnt 3sgeSP.5/6(pres)
This stone's lighter than that one.

322. [nan kakak] pi aŋkatuŋ
ptcl(comp) ss go 1dlSP.2(purp)
Let's (dl) go a bit further.

323. t^yaŋar [nan mint^yeřik]
spear ptcl(comp) short (sgv)
The shorter spear.

324. t^yaŋar ki [nan t^yalala] t^yaŋar na
spear ss ptcl(comp) long spear 1sgSP short (sgv)
This spear is longer than my spear.

325. yöntön [nan wan^yařa] pi yita
3sgmSP ptcl(comp) adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is/was moving more slowly.

326. t^yeřin^y ki [nan yunpayin] yiqi
goanna ss ptcl(comp) good (sgm) salt-water crocodile
 nun yinat
 ss bad
This goanna is better than that salt-water crocodile.

327. mi [nan mikpi] aŋařin^y
food ptcl(comp) little (sgv) give.1sgOP
Give me less food.

3.2.7.1.2. -man^yηa

If -man^yηa is suffixed to an adjective it transforms the adjective into its antithesis. (Cp. the function of -man^yηa as a negation marker in the verb complex, see 3.2.3.3.).

328. tek wikipiman^yηa wönö
camp little (sgm).dpf(neg) 3sgeSP.4(pres)
A big camp.

329. mi mönatman^yηa
food bad (sgv).dpf(neg)
Good food.

330. mawun^y wakyenman^yηa
clothes water.comit.dpf(neg)
Dry clothes.

331. t^yaηar munankiman^yηa
spear new (sgv).dpf(neg)
Old spear.

332. walk lapařman^yηa
stone light.dpf(neg)
A heavy stone.

In certain environments -man^yηa can carry the sense of excess. For example, the question

333. t^yaηar ki anta?
(Is) this spear all right?

could be answered with the following retort:

334. mint^yεřikman^yηa!
Too long!

or

335. t^yalalaman^yηa!
Too short!

The negative marker -tan can be suffixed to lexical adjectives (as well as to verb roots: see 3.2.3.1.). When suffixed to a lexical adjective -tan has a function similar to that of -man^yηa:

336. yikpitan
big (or too big, depending on context)

3.2.8. Possession

Possessive adjectival sequences are formed by the preposing, in the case of inalienable possession, and by the post-posing, in the case of alienable possession, of the free subject pronoun to the noun to be qualified.

That is to say, a possessive relation between two NPs is realized in one of two ways. When the relation is that between part and whole, including inalienable possessions such as body-parts and kinship terms, the two nouns are simply juxtaposed, the possessor preceding the possessed:

337. alawar t^Yet
 woman leg
 Woman's leg.
338. ɲa nan^Yilk
 1sgSP hand
 My hand.
339. mu t^Yiřmin^Y
 goose egg
 Goose egg.
340. yin^Ya puntu
 man head
 Man's head.
341. yöntön mełt^Yet
 3sgmSP parent
 His parent.

Secondly, when the relation between two nominals is that of alienable possession, -nō is suffixed to the possessor noun:

342. muyin^Y yin^Yanō
 dog man.poss
 Man's dog.
343. t^Yaŋar niyeřinnō
 spear young man.poss
 Young man's spear.
344. t^Yoŋnō
 fire.poss
 Fire place.

345. tikka atta tek kinöwa
 back.come lexSP.2(pres/past) camp/country ss.poss.sfm
 We returned to this country (where) we belong.

3.2.9. -nö

The functions of -nö, in MalakMalak, are fourfold:

- (i) Complement-marker
- (ii) Benefactive
- (iii) Possessor
- (iv) Relator

3.2.9.1. Complement-Marker (see 4.1.4.1.)

-nö marks an Intensive type of complement and, as such, can be suffixed to either a noun or a verb root:¹⁹

346. te manö pi anuka
 clf wallaby.int to lsgSP.2(fut)
 I will go for wallaby.
347. göyö ka yönuka watwatmanö
 ts come 3sgSP.2(fut) fish.cnt.int
 Tomorrow he will go fishing.
348. muta lamlammanö ka wuttayoŕo
 later talk.cnt.int come 3plSP.2(pres/past) meet
 Later they come to meet us (ex) to talk.

Whenever the Intensive -nö is suffixed to an intransitive verb root, it must be preceded by the Continuative suffix -ma:

349. [akana pimanö] [tek kina pak attini]
 adv (neg) go.cnt.int camp ss.loc sit lexSP.4(purp)
 We're not going; we're staying in the camp.

3.2.9.2. Benefactive

The Nominal Benefactive

-nö can be suffixed to a masculine and/or plural benefactive noun:

350. mi göyat nimin^y meltapalinö
 food(veg) cook 3sgfSP.1(punct) husband.bf
 She cooked the food for her husband.

351. tɛ pupullt^Ynö
 meat old men (partial reduplication from singular pulit^Y).bf
 Meat for the old man.

In the case of a feminine and/or plural Beneficiary, the third person singular feminine object pronoun is suffixed to the noun:

352. mu yanakɲa t^Yukat^Y wöwöntön alalk nikplɲayi
 goose one pluck 3sgfSP.1(sequ) child small(sgf).bf
 papaɾmat^Yɲayi alawar yöntönta
 old woman.bf woman 3sgSP.sfm
 His wife plucked one goose for the little girl and the old woman.

The Pronominal Benefactive has exactly the same form as that of the object pronoun (-nö is also the third person singular masculine object pronoun):

353. tɛ wu t^Yiyit^Y ayanö
 meat.clf barramundi catch 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
 I caught barramundi for him.
354. tɛ aɾpuɾu
 meat 1icSP
 Meat for us (inclusive).

as opposed to:

355. tɛ yeɾkit
 meat 1icSP
 Our (inclusive) meat.

3.2.9.3. Possessor (see 3.2.8.)

3.2.9.4. Relator

This function of -nö may be glossed *about* or *because of*:

356. pent^Yi puwar alawarnö ɲurɲurmi ayuwa
 ts night woman.rel dream 1sgSP.5(past)
 Last night I dreamt about a woman.
357. ɲuluknö kay ayaɲln^Y
 story.rel call out 1sgSP.6(progr)
 Because of the story I am shouting.
358. ɲa mlnö t^Yɛyantakma anö
 1sgSP food hear.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres)
 I am thinking about food.

3.3.0. The Quantifying Suffix -wuna

The quantifying suffix -wuna means *all* or *only*.

359. yin^yawuna pi wutta
 man.qf go 3plSP.2(pres/past)
All the men went/Only the men went.
360. alawarwuna pi nunta
 woman.qf go 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
Just the woman went.
361. yanakwuna
 one.qf
Just one.
362. wuwuna
 barramundi.qf
Just barramundi.
363. mut^yuřwuna
 many.qf
Everyone.
364. antawuna wiřk atta
 all right.qf finish lexSP.2(pres/past)
We're all all right.
365. alalk yinmeyit^ywuna
 child little
All the little boys.
366. mint^yitak pi nunta wajařiwuna
 emphP go 2sgSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP.qf
You went, just you yourself.

3.3.1. The Resemblance-Marker -man

-man is a suffixal Resemblance marker:

367. katukman yönö akana
 P(dm).rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg)
He is not like that one.
368. ɣaman yönö akana
 lsgSP.rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg)
He is not like me.

369. alalk ɲa awul ɲaman yönpuɲ
child lsgSP dreaming lsgSP.rbl 3sgmSP.2(purp)
My child is going to have the same dreaming as I have.

-man can also be suffixed to an adjectival realized as a deictic specification (see 4.1.8.):

370. pulit^y ki yönömanna
old man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).rbl.loc
Like the old man over here.

3.3.2. The Dubitative -malak

The Dubitative characterizes a particular aspect of the speaker's attitude to what he is saying. It can be glossed as *I don't know*.

371. tek akunmalakman^y ka yuɲun^y
country/camp where.dub.dpf come 3sgmSP.2(progr)
I don't know where/which country he comes from.
372. amanmalak anmawa
adv(intrg).dub lsgSP.1(fut)
I don't know what to do.
373. yin^ya eyinmalak yitanki
man who.dub 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
I don't know who the man coming up here is.
374. nikitamalak lamlamma yita
what.dub talk.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
I don't know what he's talking about.
375. t^yaɲar akunmalak
spear where.dub
I don't know where the spear is.

3.3.3. The Propriative meɭ

The Propriative can function as a prefix or suffix on nouns and verb roots. The general sense of the Propriative is that of 'responsibility' or 'source', as in the following kinship terms:

376. meɭt^yet
propr.birth
Parent.

melwiyi
 propr.milk
 Mother.

meltapali Husband

melpapu Father

mel^yuwan^y Grandfather

melwilit Sibling

melnuquntu Sister

melalantu Brother

and:

377. mel^yal
 propr.vein
 Root.

378-381 emexplify -mel as a suffix:

378. t^yöηmel
 tree.propr
 Trunk.

379. t^yetmel
 leg.propr
 Thigh

380. mimel yöntön
 propr.food
 The food he is entitled to.

381. yin^ya yönö yöntön meleyman^y wöwöntönta
 man 3sgmSP.4(pres) 3sgmSP propr.spear.dpf 3sgmSP.1(sequ)foc
 The man sitting down is responsible for the killing.

3.3.4. The Agentive (Instrumental)

-wan is an Agentive marker with the related function of Instrumental.
 The Instrumental use of -wan presupposes an agent.

Instrumental

382. pirpenwan ey ayanö
 shovel-nosed spear.ag(inst) spear 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
 I wounded him with a shovel-spear.

or the instrumental NP can occur sentence-finally:

383. ey ayanö pirpenwan
 384. nan^yilkwan tat^y yimin^ynö
hand.ag(inst) hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
He hit him with his hand.
 385. MalakMalakwan lamma nunta?
MalakMalak.ag(inst) speak.cnt 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
Do you speak MalakMalak?
 386. puntuwān waratpi yita
head.ag(1ns) walk around 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He walks/walked on his head.

3.3.4.1. The Agentive marker -wan can be suffixed to transitive or intransitive subject, but not to transitive object.

Intransitive subject:

387. alalk yikpiwan katpararma yita
child little.(sgm).ag play around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 yöntoñ mint^yitak
 3sgmSP emphP
The little boy is playing round about by himself.
 388. ŋunwan appakali t^yeyantakma yönö
P(dm).sg ptcpl pfx.sit.ptcpl hear.cnt 3sgmSP.4(pres)
That one sitting down all the time is thinking.

Transitive subject:

389. alawarwan akana muk nuntanö
woman.ag adv(neg) ask 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
 yöntönwan akana muk yitañayi
3sgmSP.ag adv(neg) ask 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP
The woman does/did not ask him (and) he does/did not ask her.
 390. alalk yikpi wapi nuntanö
child little (sgm) take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
 melwiyiwan
mother.ag
The mother takes/took the little boy.
 391. yin^yawan alalk yinmeyit^y tat yitawöřö
man.ag child little(plm) see 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP
The man sees/saw the little boys.

In examples 387 to 391 *-wan* carries very little functional load. Its occurrence is predictable only when disambiguating the syntactic functions of NPs. *-wan* is, however, seldom needed as a disambiguating marker because of the alternative means of indicating the relations between NPs in transitive sentence structure: free subject and object NPs are reflected in the Verb Complex as bound subject and object pronouns (see 4.1.3.; 4.1.3.1.). But if, for example, both NPs of a transitive sentence were singular and masculine the bound object pronoun would be unable to disambiguate their syntactic functions. In such a case the Agentive *-wan* would be used to mark the subject NP:

392. alalk yikpiwan yin^Ya tař yimin^Ynö
 child little(sgm).ag man bite 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
The little boy bites/bit the man.

Note that the following ordering of NPs is also possible:

393. yin^Ya alalk yikpiwan tař yimin^Ynö

3.3.5. Locative Affixes

3.3.5.1. *-yingna*: *on/in/into/beside*, and always functions suffixally:

394. maparama wuttanö tekyingna
 follow.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc
They are following him into the camp.
395. walkyingna yuyuwa nanatna
 hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) top.loc
He stood on top of the hill.
396. t^Yöngyingna nat^Ypak aniwa
 tree.loc hide 1sgSP.4(fut)
I will hide in the tree.
397. melwiyiyingna pak yönö
 mother.loc sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
He sits beside (his) mother.
398. papalu nakpararma wutta yawötyingna
 buffalo eat.around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) lexSP.loc
The buffalo wander round beside us (and) eat.
399. pi ata antukyingna
 go 1sgSP.2(pres/past) house.loc
I went into the house.

3.3.5.2. -man^y: 'departing from'

3.3.5.2.1. relative function

400. Darwinman^y ka ata
 Darwin.dpf come lagSP.2(pres/past)
I have come from Darwin.

401. tekman^y yipi yita
 camp.dpf away.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He goes/went away from the camp.

3.3.5.2.2. as an agentless instrumental:

402. wakyen mataman^y
 water.having rain.
Wet from the rain.

403. te yiqi man^yik wal^yimpaman^y t^yuřpali
 clf (salt-water) crocodile throat axe.dpf cut.ptcpl
 yita
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The crocodile's throat has been cut with an axe.

3.3.5.2.3. -man^y also has the function of foregrounding the actor from whom the action (transitive or intransitive) proceeds.

404. ȝa mint^yitakman^y pi ata
 lsgSP emphP.dpf go lsgSP.2(pres/past)
I go/went by myself.

405. yawötman^y akana pi taȝ
 lexSP.dpf adv(neg) go mingle
We (ex) do not mingle.

406. [stockman-man^y aȝuntuman^y] pakma wuttȝa
 stockman.dpf ts.dpf sit.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past).dc
Stockman lived there afterwards.

Note that aȝuntuman^y functions as an adjectival within the Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.).

407. [waȝařiman^y tat yinmanunu] [mapara
 2sgSP.dpf 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP follow
 yinmanunu]
 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP
He (the buffalo) is going to see you (and) follow you.

Note that the direct object is being foregrounded.

408. wəŋariman^y ɲataŋkat^y nuntyuwa
 2sgSP.dpf wrong 2sgSP.6(past)
You were wrong.

3.3.5.3. -an/na: into/onto/to

-na
 -an } are in free variation.

Post-vocally in words of odd-numbered syllables:

-na > -nan

- e.g. tö + na > tönan
hole hole.loc : into the hole

mantulma + na > mantulmanan
heart heart.loc : onto the heart

- but waliwali + na > waliwalina (see 412, below)
river to river

409. t^yaŋar yur aya pawurkan
spear lay 1sgSP.1(punct) ground.loc
I lay spear on ground.

410. möntölna mulk pam aya
loc.shoulder bamboo put(pl.obj) 1sgSP.1(punct)
I put the bamboo onto my shoulder.

411. alawar wapi yitaŋayi tek yawukan
woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP camp other.loc
He took the woman to another camp.

412. waliwalina pi yönunŋa
river. go 3sgmSP.2(fut)
He will go to the river.

413. te tuŋkwat yimin^y manna akana
meat swallow 3sgmSP.1(punct) stomach.loc adv(neg)
He does not swallow the meat into his stomach.
 (This describes a bird regurgitating food for its young.)

Motion towards a location can be morphologically unmarked, the sense of directional movement being carried by the Verb Complex itself. For example, sentence 160 from Text 1:

414. naŋaŋa pi atun tek yawuk
 adv(desid) go lsgSP.2(purp) camp A
I want to go to another camp.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------------|---|
| | | Darwinna | } |
| | | Darwin.loc | |
| 415. pent ^y i | pi yita | Darwin | |
| ts | go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) | Darwin | |

Yesterday he went to Darwin.

3.3.6. The Comitative

3.3.6.1. The comitative -yen is a derivational suffix whose meaning can be glossed as 'having'. Suffixable to NPs -yen can:

1. form a new noun

tömölyen
testicles.comit
Bullock.

wiyiyen
milk.comit
Cow.

tawut wonatyen
blood bad.comit
Leprosy.

2. form an adjective

wakyen
water.comit
Wet.

3. form a verb

t^yewöryen
ear.comit
Hear/know/think.

Other functions:

3.3.6.2. Human agent at rest with something inanimate:

416. yin^ya yönö wönyen
 man 3sgmSP.4(pres) tobacco.comit
The man sitting down has tobacco.

Human agent moving holding something inanimate:

417. tʰaŋaryɛn yitaŋa
 spear.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He went/goes over there with a spear.

3.3.6.3. Accompanitive

418. alawaryɛn yita
 woman.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He has a woman.

3.3.6.4. Time

419. miʃiyɛn pi aʃkunʊŋka
 sun.comit go 1lcSP.2(fut)
We will all go while it is light.

3.3.6.5. Describing a state

420. wiyɛnwiɛn wöřönö
 anger.comit.anger.comit 3plSP.5(pres).3sgmOP
They are furious with him.
421. tiŋkiʃkyɛn yita
 sick.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He has/had a fever.

NOTES

1. From a sample of 150 Verb Roots unable to select for Conjugation 1 eight (or 4%) are transitive:

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| kuřwapi | <i>drag</i> |
| mitt ^Y εřat (pe1 ^Y i) | <i>paint (ceremonially)</i> |
| pitin ^Y t ^Y εt | <i>dislike</i> |
| teyma | <i>wait (for)</i> |
| tultul | <i>dislike</i> |
| t ^Y ewör tarkat ^Y | <i>remind</i> |
| wukut ^Y | <i>throw away</i> |
| yipi | <i>leave</i> |

2. There are twelve recorded exceptions to this rule, all of which can select for Conjugation 1:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ŋiřk | <i>die</i> |
| apap | <i>sick/tired</i> |
| manpurit ^Y | <i>be satisfied</i> |
| manwiyukŋiřk | <i>be starving</i> |
| nit | <i>tell a lie</i> |
| tum | <i>inhale</i> |
| wuŋwuŋ | <i>feel contented</i> |
| yakayakay | <i>scream</i> |
| kan ^Y ak | <i>cough</i> |
| tumpuřk | <i>hiccough</i> |
| t ^Y iřya | <i>sneeze</i> |
| ŋε | <i>breathe</i> |

3. The ř conjugation type characteristically has in 2plSP a homorganic nasal preceding the dorso-velar stop.

4. Three points can be made here:

1. Although Conjugation 2 is an \check{r} conjugation type (taking the Progressive paradigm as criterial) it contains an exception to the \check{r} conjugation-type rule: the Present and Past tenses are conflated into a single paradigm which conforms to the t conjugation type.

2. The Purposive paradigms of Conjugations 2-6 conform to the t conjugation type in terms of the already cited indices; and the Future and Subjunctive paradigms of the same conjugations conform to the \check{r} conjugation type.

3. The deictic functions of the Auxiliary conjugations are restricted to Conjugations 2-6. Conjugation 1, although it has the phonological shape of an \check{r} conjugation type, does not have any deictic function at all. (This is likely to be related to the fact that it has no semantic function either.)

5. In Conjugations 1 and 2 the Present and Past tenses are conflated. In Conjugation 1 the conflated tenses are called Punctiliar (carrying the aspectual overtone of unique performance) and the Sequential (see 3.1.1.).

6. Cf. Swahili -KA- tense which "expresses an action or state which follows another action." - E.O. Ashton, *Swahili Grammar*, p.133.

7. See 3.1.9.3. regarding the word-final occurrence of -wa in this environment.

8. Term introduced by Paul L. Garvin in Garvin (1964).

9. Partial reduplication of Verb Root for plural subject: $t^Y\epsilon t$ becomes $t^Y\epsilon\check{r}at$ (see 3.2.4.1.).

10. For example, $t^Yalkyur$ $n\ddot{o}ny\ddot{o}$
bend over 2sg/3sgfSP.5(pres)
She/you (sg) bend(s) over.

becomes, with the selection of Conjugation 2

$t^Yalkyurali$ $nunta$
bend over.ptcpl 2sg/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
You go/She goes along over there bent over.

11. As in the purposive paradigm of all Conjugations, in the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2, and in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 4.

12. The subjunctive paradigm is identical in form for Conjugations 2, 5 and 6. The form in question is labeled Conjugation 2 because of the presence of Conjugation 2 (fut) in the reciprocal sentence. Moreover, the person marker *wi-* can denote any one of three Subject Pronouns 3sgmSP; 3sgfSP; 3sgeSP. The necessary choice of the masculine option is indicated by 3sgmOP (-*nöwa*) occurring in *anuñnöwakka*.

13. *Fire* is thought of as *standing up*: hence, Conjugation 6.

14. *Meat* (as opposed to the live animal) is thought of as *supine*: hence, Conjugation 5.

15. The only recorded exception to the vocalic reduplication rule is $t^Y_{et} > t^Y_{e\check{r}at}$: *stand/be born*. *kupuk > kuwpuk* has already been mentioned (see Chapter 1, fn. 2).

16. $t^Y_{e\check{n}^Y} > t^Y_{e\check{n}^Y e\check{n}^Y}$ constitutes an exception to this principle.

17. A lexical adjective follows both the noun that it qualifies and any possessive adjective (see 3.3.8.) qualifying that noun

$t^Y_{a\eta ar}$ ηa t^Y_{alala}
spear 1sgSP(Aposs) *long*
My long spear.

18. t^Y_{alala} : *long* cannot express concord, but it does have a plural form: t^Y_{ulu} .

19. Cf. what Capell (1956) called the bivalent suffix -*ku*.

CHAPTER 4

SYNTAX

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Much of that which belongs properly to the syntax of MalakMalak has already been stated under the different Word Classes (see Chapter 2) and in the Morphology (see Chapter 3). What follows concerns the relations of the word classes to one another and will complete the syntactic description of the language.

4.1.1. Sentential Constituents

The only obligatory constituent in MalakMalak sentence structure is the Verb Complex which can itself constitute a sentence (see 4.1.3.). Other word classes can be added to the Verb Complex, such as nouns (subject or object Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.) and nouns with any of the affixal functions listed in section 2.1.1. and described in sections 3.2.8. to 3.3.6.); adjectivals (see 2.1.2.; 4.1.8.); particles (see 2.1.6.); deictic specifiers (see 2.1.4.); and Verb Complex Complements (see 4.1.4.).

| | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 422. | [ŋöyö] | [yin ^Y a] | [ŋat ^Y] | [alawar yöntön] | [tek |
| | ts | SNP | ptcl(emph) | ONP | N |
| | tomorrow | man | | woman | 3sgmSP camp |
| | yawukan] | wapi | yönuŋŋayiwa | | [lamlammanö] |
| | A.loc | VR | Aux.OP | | VRcpt |
| | other.to | take | 3sgmSP.2(fut).3sgfOP | talk.cnt.int | |
| | Tomorrow the man will take his wife to another camp to have a talk. | | | | |

In the preferred ordering of constituents the subject and object Noun Phrases precede the Verb Complex (see 4.1.9.).

4.1.2. Co-Ordinate and Subordinate Relations

Any number of sentences in MalakMalak can be juxtaposed to indicate co-ordinate and subordinate relations between sentences. That is, sentences do not formally mark relationships of co-ordination or subordination (except for the case of Conditionals, which are marked by the mood of the protasis, see 4.1.2.1.). Thus, these sentences can be interpreted in various ways according to their content (the presence or absence of coreferential NPs, for instance) and the context of situation.

423. [yin^Ya tat ayanö] [alawar tat^Yma
man see lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP woman hit.cnt
yitanayi]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP

In answer to the question *What was he doing?* sentence (423) would be glossed:

When I saw the man he was hitting his wife.

In answer to the question *What did you see?* sentence (423) would be glossed:

I saw man who was hitting his wife.

or: *I saw man and he was hitting his wife.*

424. [yin^Ya alalk nikpi tat^Y yitanayi]
man child little(sgf) hit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP
[kan^Yakma yita]
cough.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

Sentence (424) would be glossed:

The man hit(s) the little girl and he was/is coughing.

or: *The man who was/is coughing hit(s) the little girl.*

But in the following sentence:

425. [yin^Yawan alalk yikpi tat^Y yitanö]
man.ag child little(sgm) hit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
[kan^Yakma yita]
cough.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

the concordal relationship between the bound third singular subject person marker and its potential nominal referent (either yin^Ya or alalk yikpi) would be unable to indicate unambiguously the nominal referent of kan^Yakma yita. Sentence (425) would therefore be glossed as either

The man hit the little boy who was coughing.

or: *The man who was coughing hit the little boy.*

426. [ɲun wötyönki] [alawarman^y wa
 ss 3plSP.6(pres).dc woman.dpf pick up
 yimin^y ɲayi [wi wötyönki]
 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP fight 3plSP.6(pres).dc

These three juxtaposed sentences would be glossed:

Those over there are fighting over the woman he abducted.

Reduced sentences can be juxtaposed to indicate co-ordination. A reduced sentence is one containing a Verb Complex without an Auxiliary; its typical environment is a narrative context such as the following:

427. [t^yöŋ t^yuʃurp] [wapi ɲunna] [tuʃpam]
 wood cut(pl.O)¹ tale ss.loc put into ground
 [t^yetweʃamaŋkil weʃanweʃan t^yöŋ wönt^yöřök t^yuʃurp]
 fork-stick two-two wood short(ple) cut(pl.O)
 [taʃpyur larap] [waŋa taʃpyur paraʃaŋ
 lay (on top of) tie bring lay (on top of) corpse
 nanta] [larap] [yuryipi]
 A(dm).sfm tie lay(tr).leave(tr).go
 (They cut pieces of wood, take (them) over there, put (them)
 into the ground and cut four fork-sticks, and cut short
 pieces of wood and lay (them) across (the fork-sticks) and
 tie (them) and bring up that corpse, lay (it) across, tie
 (it to the platform) and leave (it).

4.1.2.1. Conditionals

The protasis of a Conditional sentence occurs only in the Purposive or Subjunctive moods; the apodosis can occur in the Purposive or Subjunctive moods or in the Future tense.

428. [apap yinma] [ɲiʃkpuk yinma]
 sick 3sgmSP.1(purp) die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)
 If he gets sick he might die.
429. [tɛ aŋ awuntunöwakka] anti [tɛ
 meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip) meat
 aŋ wuwuntuwaʃin^yt^yakna]
 give 3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc
 Had I given him meat he would have given me meat.
 or: Were I to give him meat he would give me meat.

The subjunctive is unmarked for tense, whereas the purposive is marked for futurity.

430. [tɛ aŋ wuwuntuwaʃin^Yt^Yakna] anti [tɛ
 meat give 3sgmSP.1(subj).lsgOP.foc adv(recip) meat
 aŋ atömanö]
 give lsgSP.1(purp).3sgmOP
 If he gave me meat I would give him meat.

The apodosis in the Future tense:

431. [mi ŋak nuwuntuwa] [mi
 food(veg) eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(subj) food(veg)
 ŋak anmawakna]
 eat(non-meat) lsgSP.1(fut).foc
 If you eat (veg) food I will eat (veg) food.

Given two juxtaposed sentences, if the Verb Complex of one is in the subjunctive mood and the Verb Complex of the other is in neither the purposive or subjunctive moods nor in the future tense, then the latter sentence will be interpreted as an adverbial clause of reason.

432. tɛ aŋ awuntunöwakka anti tɛ aŋ
 meat give lsgSP.1(subj).3sgm adv(recip) meat give
 yimin^Yaʃin^Y
 3sgmSP.1(punct).lsgOP
 I would give him meat because he gave me meat.

4.1.3. The Verb Complex

The Verb Complex can be expanded as follows:

(adverb){(verb root)(auxiliary)}(object pronoun)

Adverb, Verb Root, and Auxiliary are free forms; Object Pronoun is bound to the Verb Root or the Auxiliary, depending on which occurs.² When the Verb Root and the Auxiliary co-occur within the Verb Complex the Verb Root precedes the Auxiliary:³

433. akana pilp yinmanayyiwa
 adv(neg) slap 3sgmSP.1(fut).3sgfOP
 He will not slap her.

The Verb Complex assumes a role of central importance in the sentential syntax of MalakMalak because the Auxiliary assigns person, number, tense, mood and aspect to the sentence in which it occurs. The transitivity of a verb root will also be registered in the Verb Complex through the ability or inability of the VR to take a pronoun object.

There is a concordal relationship between the (free) subject NP and the bound subject person marker of the auxiliary.

434. yin^Ya wilma yita
 man swim.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The man is/was swimming.

435. alawar wilma nunta
 woman swim.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
The woman is/was swimming.

The (free) object NP is reflected in the Verb Complex by a person- and number-equivalent pronoun object.

436. alawar tat^Y yimin^Yηayi
 woman hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP
He hit(s) the woman.

437. teyma anuηηayiwa alawarnö
 wait(tr).cnt 1sgSOP.2(fut).3sgfOP woman.bf
I will wait for the woman.

Since alawar is unmarked for number⁴, the suffixation of the third singular feminine pronoun object marks the noun alawar for singularity. Equivalently, in the following sentence the plurality of yin^Ya is indicated by the suffixation of the third plural pronoun object:

438. pent^Yi t^Yeyantak ayöwöřö yin^Yawa
 ts hear 1sgSP.6(pres).3plOP man.sfm
Yesterday, I heard the man.

Due to the repetition of the free subject and object in pronominal form within the Verb Complex there is no ambiguity over the interpretation of a sentence such as the following:

439. yin^Ya alawar tat^Y yimin^Yηayi
 man woman hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP
The man hit(s) the woman.

Only one interpretation is possible because of the gender concord between yin^Ya and the third masculine singular bound subject person marker yi- of yimin^Y and between alawar and the coreferential feminine singular pronoun object -ηayi.

4.1.3.1. Transitivity

Transitivity is a property of the Verb Complex. As stated earlier, verb roots are inherently transitive or intransitive. Of all inherently transitive verbs recorded, 96% are able to take Conjugation 1 as an auxiliary. Verb Roots that are inherently intransitive, on the other hand, characteristically cannot take Conjugation 1 as an auxiliary.⁵

For these reasons Conjugation 1 was termed the **transitivity index** of the Conjugation system.

There is no formal distinction in the language between transitive and intransitive subject, whether free or bound. The **agentive** marker -waŋ (see 3.3.4.) can be attached to a free subject NP whether transitive or intransitive, and the only constraint on its distribution within the Noun Phrase is that it cannot be suffixed to the free object NP.

4.1.3.1.1. Noun Phrase, Adjectival and Deictic Complements

The intransitive Verb Complex can take a NP, adjectival or deictic complement:

NP Complement

440. [karala yunpayin] yita
 body good(sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He is/was happy.

441. [puntu lɛʔpma] ata
 head hot.cnt 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
 I have/had a headache.

Adjectival Complement

442. yin^y yita
 shy 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He is shy.

443. t^yalala yita
 long 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He is tall.

Deictic Complement

444. t^yöŋ maʔir [wak antawan] wöyö
 clf paperbark tree water ss 3sgeSP.6(pres)
 The paperbark tree stands near the water.

4.1.3.2. Indirect Objectivity

There is no formal marking of indirect objectivity in the language. Indirect objects behave, syntactically, in exactly the same way as direct objects. Again, it is the verb root itself that provides an index of the capacity for indirect objectivity: e.g. aŋ : *give*.

445. mi aŋ atömanö
food(veg) give 1sgSP.1(purp).3sgmOP
I'm going to give him food.

As is the case with direct object NPs, the indirect object NP is reflected in the Verb Complex by a gender- and number-equivalent pronoun object:

446. yin^Ya alawar lamma nuntanö
man woman talk.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
The woman is/was talking to the man.

In example 447 the pronoun object -nö indicates the singularity of yin^Yawa while in example 447 the pronoun object -wöřö indicates its plurality:

447. pent^Yi naman ayanö yin^Yawa
ts speak 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP man.sfm
Yesterday I spoke to the man.
448. pent^Yi naman ayawöřö yin^Yawa
ts speak 1sgSP.1(punct).3plOP man.sfm
Yesterday I spoke to the men.

In the following two examples the pronoun object realizes a possessive function:

449. t^Yaŋar tapak mutařin^Y
spear break 3sgvSP.2(pres/past).1sgOP
My spear has broken.

Note that t^Yaŋar *spear* is one of the nouns that require m-concord either when qualified by a concordal adjective (see 3.2.7.) or as the referent of the third singular bound subject marker of the auxiliary.

A literal translation of example 449 would read: *Spear has broken (to) me.*

Similarly, sentence 450:

450. muyin^Y ŋiřk yimin^Yařin^Y
dog die 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP

Literally: *dog died (to) me*
My dog died.

There is a concordal relationship between muyin^Y and the masculine singular subject person marker yi- of yimin^Y.

In the following example the pronoun object realizes the affected party:

451. man⁶ wönatt^yet wiyaŋin^yaŋin^y
 stomach bad.stand 3sgSP.6(progr)1sgOP
 Literally: *stomach is standing bad (to) me*
I am worried.

4.1.4. Verb Complex Complementation

There are two types of Verb Complex complementation in MalakMalak:
 (i) verb root/auxiliary complementation and (ii) participial complementation.

4.1.4.1. Verb Root/Auxiliary Complementation

(a) verb root ± -ma (the continuative suffix) ± -nö (the intensive suffix), (b) auxiliary complementation.

(a) The verb root complement is a reduced sentence (see 4.1.2., example 427) complemented by a Verb Complex.

452. alawar t^yewöryen nunta [t^yuŋpmawa]
 woman ear.comit 2sgSP.2(pres/past) [cut.cnt.foc]
The woman knows/knew how to cut (wood for a canoe).
453. tek ka ata [wirik]
 country come lexSP.2(pres/past) [finish]
I have come to (this) country for good.
454. tikpi yowora [yur]
 back go 3sgSP.3(pres) [lie down]
He's on his way back to lie down.
455. nöyö ka yönuŋka [watwatmanö]
 tomorrow come 3sgSP.2(fut) [fish.cnt.int]
Tomorrow he will come to fish.
456. te t^yeyöt waŋkit^y aŋöntön [ey]
 clf red kangaroo hunt out lexSP.1(sequ) VRcpt(spear)
We hunt out (and) spear a red kangaroo. (Text 1, sentence 15)
457. alalk yinmeyit^y pi wöŋönuŋka [kapukkupukmanö]
 child little go 3plSP.2(fut) [bathe.cnt.int]
The little boys will go and bathe.
458. 'Monday' puwaryinŋa wapi yönuŋarin^yt^ya [wuŋkammanöna]
 Monday morning take 2(fut) [work.cnt.int.loc]
Monday morning he will take me to work.

(b) In the following sentences an auxiliary functions as complement of the preceding verb complex:

459. tat ayanö [yöwöřa]
 see lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.3(pres)]
I see him going along.
460. tat ayanö [yita]
 see lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.2(pres/past)]
I see/saw him over there. (see 3.1.2.)
461. t^yeyantak ayanö [yuwuřa]
 hear lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgSP.3(past)]
I heard him going along.
462. [ŋun yönönki] tatma anönö
 [ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc] see.cnt lsgSP.4(pres).3sgmOP
I see him sitting there.
463. tat anmanöwa [yönunřakka]
 see lsgSP.1(fut).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.2(fut)]
I will find him walking along.

In sentences 459 to 463 (inclusive) there is gender- and number-concord between the object pronoun of the Verb Complex and the bound subject person marker of the complement.

4.1.4.2. Participial Complementation

The participle-forming suffix -ali⁷ carries an habitual sense.

464. t^yalkyurali nunta
 bend over.ptcpl 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
She goes/went along bent over.

The suffixation of -ali to pak-, yur-, and t^yet-, for example, creates a semantic force of *sitting*, *lying* or *standing* co-extensive with the action described by the verb root of which it forms the complementation.

465. (a) paltam pakali yönö
 hide(behind something) sit.ptcpl 3sgmSP.4(pres)
Hide behind (something) sitting all the time.
- (b) paltam yurali yöyö
 hide(behind something) lie.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)
Hide behind (something) lying down all the time.

- (c) paltam t^yetali yöyö
 hide(behind something) stand.ptcpl 3sgmSP.6(pres)
 Hide behind (something) standing up all the time.

In the following three examples, the participle forms the complementation not of a verb root but of an auxiliary:

466. (a) yönö appakali
 3sgmSP.4(pres) sit.ptcpl
 He is always sitting down.
- (b) yöyö apyurali
 3sgmSP.6(pres) lie.ptcpl
 He is always lying down.
- (c) wötyö apt^yεřatali
 3plSP.6(pres) stand.ptcpl
 He is always standing up.

The prefix ap- is restricted in distribution to the three standard postural verb roots pak, yur and t^yet. When ap- is prefixed to one of these three participial complements the latter can follow the auxiliary but without the prefix ap- the participial complement form of these three verb roots precedes the auxiliary:

467. pakali yönö
 sit.ptcpl 3sgmSP.4(pres)
 He is sitting all the time.

A distinction is drawn in the language between succession and simultaneity of the actions described by juxtaposed verb roots within the Verb Complex. If -ali is suffixed to the second of two juxtaposed verb roots, that verb root will function as the participial complement of the first, and the action described by the second verb root will be understood as taking place simultaneously with that described by the first. But if -ali suffixation does not occur, the actions will be understood as being successive.

468. (a) alawar peyikan wuřk pak nönö
 woman bag.loc put in sit 3sgfSP.4(pres)
 The woman puts (it) in the bag and sits down.
- (b) alawar peyikan wuřk yur nönyö
 woman bag. put in lie down
 The woman puts (it) in the bag and lies down.

- (c) alawar peyikan wuřk yur nönyö
 woman bag.loc put in stand 3sgfSP.5(pres)
The woman puts (it) in the bag and stands up.

The participial suffix -ali converts succession into simultaneity.

469. alawar peyikan wuřk pakali nönö
 woman bag.loc put in sit.ptcpl 3sgfSP.4(pres)
The woman puts (it) into the bag while sitting down.

The ability of a verb root to take the participial complement pakali/yurali/t^yetali does not necessarily reflect any constraint on the co-occurrence of that verb root with the semantically cognate auxiliary Conjugations 4, 5 and 6.

The participial suffix -ali is not confined to the three standard 'postural' verb roots pak-, yur- and t^yet. For example:

470. tek nanman^y tappamali atta
 camp A(dm).dpf grab.put.ptcpl lexSP.2(pres/past)
We have always retained this camp.

471. t^yiyit^yali yitawöřö
 pick up.ptcpl 3sgmSP.(pres/past).3pLOP
He goes along picking them up all the time.

472. t^yiyit^yali nunta
 pick up.ptcpl 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
She's married.

4.1.5. The Imperative

4.1.5.1. The Positive Imperative

The Positive Imperative can be realized in MalakMalak in one of two ways: either (1) by the Purposive mood preceded by a verb root, or (2) by the verb root itself, without a subsequent auxiliary but with or without the preceding adverb tin^y. There is no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive imperative.

- e.g. (a) 473. mi ɲak nöntöma
 (veg)food eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)
Eat the food!

474. lak nöntöma
 eat(meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)
Eat (non-meat) food!

475. ɲat^Ypak yini
 hide 3sgmSP.4(purp)
Let him hide!

476. yur nukuttöyüŋ
 lie down 2plSP.5(purp)
You (pl)

477. pařat nintiyan
 get up 2sgSP.6(purp)
Get up!

(b) The verb root form of the positive imperative with neither the auxiliary nor the adverb tin^Y is as follows:

478. t^Yön t^Yuřpma
 wood cut.cnt
Cut the wood!

479. kina pakma
 ss.loc sit down.cnt
Stay here!

480. naman
Speak!

481. mi aŋarin^Y
 food(non-meat) give.lsgOP
Give me food!

The verb root preceded by tin^Y

482. tin^Y tatnö
 adv find.3sgmOP
Try and find him.

483. tin^Y tappiypman^Y
 adv wind.dpf
Try winding (it). (i.e. an outboard motor)

4.1.5.2. The Negative Imperative

The negative imperative is formed with the adverb awat followed by either a verb root alone or by a verb root plus an auxiliary in the purposive mood.

484. awat teymařin^y
adv wait.cnt.lsgOP
Don't wait for me!

485. awat wumuwa
adv steal
Don't steal!

The negative force of awat can be reinforced by the negative suffix
-tan⁸:

486. awat muřt^yiřtan nuntug
adv trip.neg 2sgSP.2(purp)
Don't trip!

487. awat wat^yuř lamlammatan
adv adv talk.cnt.neg
Don't talk so fast!

4.1.6. The Causative/Inchoative

The causative/inchoative construction is formed by the verb root tut acting upon a lexical adjective:

488. mawun^y [laŋkeřk tut] aya
clothes clean caus lsgSP.1(punct)
I make/made the clothes clean.

489. töl [t^yalala tut] aya
stick long caus lsgSP.1(punct)
I lengthen(ed) the stick.

490. tit [kerker tut] aya
edge sharp caus lsgSP.1(punct)
I sharpen(ed) the blade.

491. [yikpi tut] yita
little(sgm) caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He gets/becomes thin.

492. [yinali tut] yita
big(sgm) caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He gets/becomes big.

493. [töm tut] yita
weak caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He gets/becomes weak.

494. [mawun^Y waŋkař wuyuwa] [wakyen tut
dress outside 3sgeSP.(past) water.comit caus
 wuta]
 3sgeSP.(pres/past)
The dress was outside, so it got wet.

tut has a partially reduplicated plural form: turut (see 3.2.4.1.)

495. ɲant^Yakpulu turut wutta
grown up caus(pl) 3plSP.2(pres/past)
They grew/grow up.

The causative tut can also act upon a noun or a quantifier:

496. marin^Y tut⁹ yimin^Y
story caus 3sgmSP.1(punct)
He tells/told a story.

497. mut^Yuř tut wiřmin^Y
qf caus 3plSP.1(punct)
They have a big family.

Colour- or light-descriptive terms as inchoative tend to occur with t^Yet (or tutt^Yet) plus Conjugation 6:

498. ɲuparak t^Yet wiyaŋin^Y
dark stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)
It's getting dark.
499. eyikɛyik tutt^Yet wiyaŋin^Y
black caus.stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)
It's getting black.
500. witma tutt^Yet wiyaŋin^Y
red caus.stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)
It's getting red.

When the causative force is acting upon a verb root it has a different realization: the verb root wat (*send*). wat can be suffixed to other verb roots thereby forming compound verb roots:

501. yin^Ya ɲitwat ayanö
man say 'no'.send
I made the man say no.
502. paŋaman^Y namanwat yimin^Yařin^Y
father.dpf speak.send 3sgmSP.1(punct).lsgOP
Father made me speak.

The suffixation of *wat* also covers the action of a causative force upon an adverb such as *wat^yuř* (*quick*):

503. *wat^yuřwat* *atuŋnö*
 quick.send *lsgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP*
 I am going to make him (go) quickly.

In certain cases (see 3.2.5.) the suffixation of *wat* to a verb root has crystallized into a lexical item:

- e.g. *tuřkwat* [*drink + send*] : *swallow*
 t^yuřkwat [*enter + send*] : *put inside*
 kat^ywat [*throw + send*] : *let go*

4.1.7. The Verb Root

It is characteristic of MalakMalak that the auxiliary conjugations, which can potentially occur with any single verb root, are multiple. However, certain constraints operate on a number of verb roots thereby restricting the number of auxiliary conjugations for which they can select.

Of a sample 350 verb roots 98 are able to select for all six auxiliary conjugations:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>akak</i> | <i>vomit</i> |
| <i>alturuk</i> | <i>smash</i> |
| <i>ar</i> | <i>dry</i> |
| <i>ariŋar</i> | <i>open (mouth)</i> |
| <i>(kariř) wir</i> | <i>weave (basket)</i> |
| <i>kař</i> | <i>moult feathers</i> |
| <i>kařŋöyat</i> | <i>light (pipe/cigarette)</i> |
| <i>kařturuk</i> | <i>poke</i> |
| <i>kařyiwuy</i> | <i>stir</i> |
| <i>keřpkeřp</i> | <i>crunch</i> |
| <i>kuřpit</i> | <i>miss (i.e. with a missile)</i> |
| <i>kuřput</i> | <i>cover up</i> |
| <i>kuřtöwerk^yat</i> | <i>move fire along a hollowed out log (i.e. in the manufacture of a canoe)</i> |
| <i>kuřut</i> | <i>remove</i> |
| <i>kuř</i> | <i>pull</i> |

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| lamtel | <i>stop (someone from quarrelling)</i> |
| manparart ^y et | <i>stir stomach up</i> |
| manpurit ^y | <i>be satisfied</i> |
| manwiyuk ɲlʁk | <i>starving hungry</i> |
| milk | <i>decorate</i> |
| nil ^y il ^y | <i>strip bark (from a tree)</i> |
| nil ^y | <i>skin (an animal)</i> |
| nin ^y ik | <i>dislike</i> |
| nit | <i>tell a lie</i> |
| n ^y atn ^y at | <i>chip wood</i> |
| ɲak | <i>eat (non-meat)</i> |
| lak | <i>eat (meat)</i> |
| yař | <i>skin (animal)</i> |
| ɲawan ^y ak | <i>smell</i> |
| ɲε | <i>breathe</i> |
| ɲεřp | <i>cut</i> |
| ɲit | <i>a verb of repulsion¹⁰</i> |
| pεřat, (tim) | <i>dig (a hole)</i> |
| wuřk, (peyikan) | <i>put into (a bag)</i> |
| pilp | <i>slap</i> |
| yařyař | <i>plane down</i> |
| lamt ^y ak | <i>stop (someone) from quarrelling</i> |
| lař | <i>tear</i> |
| luřuɲ | <i>clean</i> |
| luřut | <i>grind</i> |
| pirir | <i>untie</i> |
| purpiryet | <i>ignite</i> |
| pöpö | <i>fam flames</i> |
| tapak | <i>break</i> |
| taratwat | <i>watch</i> |
| tařpat | <i>bite off</i> |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| tattəkut | <i>show</i> |
| tat ^y | <i>hit</i> |
| tat ^y muř | <i>kick/smash (with feet)</i> |
| ŋöyat | <i>cook</i> |
| tayt ^y ařp | <i>cut an object into quarters</i> |
| möřpmöřp | <i>munch (non-meat food)</i> |
| muřtam | <i>block a creek</i> |
| muřtuk | <i>hatch</i> |
| numuřu n ^y ip | <i>wink</i> |
| ŋalamuřk | <i>swear/curse</i> |
| ŋal ^y ak | <i>lick</i> |
| piktap | <i>arrest</i> |
| piwuy | <i>swing (tr)</i> |
| telkŋa | <i>singe hair (of a wallaby, e.g. before cooking)</i> |
| tempelet ^y | <i>roll up (of swag)</i> |
| töln | <i>stretch</i> |
| tum | <i>inhale</i> |
| tut | <i>causative verb root (see 4.1.6.)</i> |
| töt ^y at | <i>take from earth/mud of a goanna/turtle, etc.</i> |
| turpkat ^y | <i>dig for lily (in swamp)</i> |
| t ^y ök | <i>spit</i> |
| t ^y upak | <i>spit</i> |
| naman | <i>speak</i> |
| yεřk | <i>scrape hide</i> |
| yukut ^y wat | <i>move an object along gradually</i> |
| aritel | <i>shut door</i> |
| kan ^y ak | <i>cough</i> |
| kařkwut | <i>sew</i> |
| kařyit | <i>comb (hair)</i> |
| kařt ^y ikat | <i>poke</i> |
| kurpuk | <i>wash</i> |
| kuřutt ^y et | <i>take clothes off</i> |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| takat ^y | <i>touch</i> |
| tɛp | <i>paint</i> |
| tumpuřk | <i>hiccough</i> |
| tuřkwat | <i>swallow</i> |
| t ^y ařat ^y | <i>tip out</i> |
| t ^y iřya | <i>sneeze</i> |
| wan ^y | <i>row (a boat)</i> |
| tultul | <i>be angry (tr)</i> |
| turakat ^y | <i>push</i> |
| t ^y iyit ^y | <i>catch/get</i> |
| t ^y uřp | <i>cut</i> |
| wa | <i>pick up</i> |
| yakayakay | <i>scream</i> |
| yentawaliktap | <i>like</i> |
| t ^y ɛn ^y | <i>make</i> |
| t ^y ur | <i>have no need for</i> |
| t ^y ut | <i>wake (tr)</i> |
| wuřwuř | <i>be contented</i> |
| tat | <i>see/find</i> |
| tar | <i>crush</i> |
| wat | <i>send</i> |

Of the 350 verb roots already referred to, 228 are able to select for Conjugation 1 (ninety-eight of which have already been cited); and 122 are unable to select for Conjugation 1. (Ability or inability to select for Conjugation 1 is being regarded as definitive for the classification of verb roots because this conjugation stands as an index of their transitivity potential.)

The Verb Roots that can select for Conjugation 1

Of the remaining 130 verb roots (from the sample of 350) that can select for Conjugation 1, eighty show full constraints on the selection of certain conjugations, and fifty show partial constraints (as in the verb roots able to select for Conjugations 5 and 6 in the plural persons only, see 3.1.5. and 3.1.6., respectively). Of the eighty verb

roots showing full conjugation-selection constraints, thirty-eight cannot select for Conjugation 5:

| | |
|--|---|
| altak | <i>break</i> |
| aŋwat | <i>send over</i> |
| ařawat | <i>spend (tr)</i> |
| kalt ^Y et | <i>carry (on head)</i> |
| kařkař | <i>prod ground (with yamstick)</i> |
| wakarkwat | <i>take out</i> |
| altuřp | <i>penetrate</i> |
| aŋ | <i>give</i> |
| er | <i>make noise in undergrowth</i> |
| kalpam | <i>carry (pl.O)</i> |
| kat ^Y kurpukat | <i>put into the water (e.g. of a canoe)</i> |
| putat ^Y | <i>cover cooking meat with ashes</i> |
| taleřp | <i>burn</i> |
| teret ^Y | <i>break limbs (at joints)</i> |
| wöntuřp | <i>degut a kangaroo/wallaby</i> |
| tulkwut | <i>pull down (tr)</i> |
| t ^Y etpat | <i>break (branch) off</i> |
| tapuyt ^Y | <i>squeeze</i> |
| t ^Y ölt ^Y öl | <i>dust (something) down</i> |
| t ^Y uřppam | <i>cut and stack up wood</i> |
| timkut | <i>bury (rubbish)</i> |
| watwat | <i>fish</i> |
| mawun ^Y kuřutpam | <i>take clothes off and put them down</i> |
| t ^Y intar | <i>tip out</i> |
| putuk | <i>cover up (tr)</i> |
| tap | <i>grab/seize</i> |
| tömt ^Y uřp | <i>degut a mullet</i> |
| tuytuy | <i>stretch (intr)</i> |
| t ^Y amölt ^Y et | <i>sharpen (yamstick)</i> |
| t ^Y intarwukut ^Y | <i>tip out</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| t ^y ukat ^y | <i>pluck</i> |
| t ^y uřkwat | <i>put inside</i> |
| warwar | <i>make dilly-bag</i> |
| wirk (man ^y ik petiřk) | <i>whisper</i> |
| muřt ^y iř | <i>trip over</i> |
| tappiyip | <i>wind around</i> |
| wkayentelk | <i>mix cold and hot water</i> |
| werer | <i>take out of earth oven</i> |

Four verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 6:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| kölpt ^y et | <i>roast (a single piece of meat)</i> |
| puy | <i>disbelieve (tr)</i> |
| war | <i>(be) ready</i> |
| yitkař | <i>scale a fish</i> |

Two verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 4:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| ňöyattamkat ^y | <i>cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e. in paperbark)</i> |
| maparakat ^y | <i>chase</i> |

Sixteen cannot select for Conjugation 4 and 5:

| | |
|--|---|
| kat ^y t ^y uřkwat | <i>throw away</i> |
| wakulpat | <i>load (tr) (into canoe)</i> |
| kum | <i>bury</i> |
| wi mama | <i>engage in a fight (predicated of a large number of people)</i> |
| muř | <i>move feet (around)</i> |
| ňařk | <i>make noise in water with bamboo pole</i> |
| pařtikt ^y etey | <i>lean back and spear (tr)</i> |
| payaktulkt ^y et | <i>turn over onto back (tr)</i> |
| tarartarar | <i>knock (on door)</i> |
| tař | <i>bite</i> |
| tulkmuř | <i>touch someone on ankle</i> |
| tuřpt ^y et | <i>plant (single object)</i> |
| tutpamtap | <i>lay wood like rollers on which to move canoe</i> |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| t ^y aʔakat ^y | <i>rain heavily</i> |
| t ^y et | <i>plant</i> |
| waŋkit ^y | <i>flush out (animals from bush)</i> |

Four cannot select Conjugation 5 and 6:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| palin ^y tat ^y | <i>clap hands</i> |
| tappam | <i>grab and keep</i> |
| tökölp | <i>roast in a hole</i> |
| töy | <i>straighten a bamboo</i> |

One verb root is unable to select Conjugation 4 or 6:

| | |
|--------|---------------|
| mapara | <i>follow</i> |
|--------|---------------|

Fourteen verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 4, 5 or 6:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| apap | <i>be ill or tired</i> |
| pin ^y waka | <i>get water and bring it</i> |
| pin ^y wapi | <i>get water and take it</i> |
| pin ^y wukut ^y | <i>bale water out</i> |
| tart ^y etyi | <i>tip out and leave</i> |
| tarniřk | <i>kill (with spear)</i> |
| man ^y t ^y etyi | <i>cover up and leave</i> |
| tuřppam | <i>stick plant in ground</i> |
| t ^y uřk | <i>bury</i> |
| wat ^y ukt ^y et | <i>fill up and leave</i> |
| wukut ^y pam | <i>drop</i> |
| parkyi | <i>leave behind</i> |
| t ^y eř | <i>sting</i> |
| t ^y etwat | <i>'drop' a person off after giving him a lift</i> |

One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 and 5:

| | |
|---|--|
| t ^y en ^y kat ^y | <i>arrange (something for someone)</i> |
|---|--|

The Verb Roots that cannot select for Conjugation 1

Of the 122 verb roots unable to select for Conjugation 1, 108 show full constraints and fourteen show partial constraints. Of the 108

verb roots showing full constraints the following thirty-seven can select for any auxiliary conjugation except Conjugation 1:

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| katparar | <i>play around</i> |
| kat | <i>laugh/play</i> |
| lam(lam) | <i>talk</i> |
| lerpma | <i>hot</i> |
| luřukat ^y | <i>wait around for food</i> |
| manpařat | <i>resemble</i> |
| tin ^y | <i>stir up (intr)</i> |
| man ^y t ^y et | <i>float up</i> |
| nanpuřun | <i>show off</i> |
| muřma | <i>dance (of men)</i> |
| nöwölweriyen | <i>make trouble</i> |
| n ^y apan ^y apa | <i>be deaf</i> |
| töwerk | <i>cry</i> |
| tulma | <i>sulk</i> |
| t ^y inwitan | <i>avoid fights</i> |
| werwerparar | <i>tremble</i> |
| ariwit ^y im | <i>kiss</i> |
| wiyenwiyen | <i>argue</i> |
| ariñar | <i>open mouth</i> |
| mirmir | <i>melt</i> |
| muřt ^y iřt ^y alk | <i>trip and fall</i> |
| numuřu t ^y il ^y wuřkali | <i>a wrinkled face (have)</i> |
| nun ^y t ^y et | <i>sweat</i> |
| t ^y ewörtarkat ^y | <i>remind</i> |
| t ^y ert ^y er | <i>sing</i> |
| tattaparar | <i>look around</i> |
| tat ^y parar | <i>forage (for yams)</i> |
| tɛy | <i>wait</i> |
| tiktat | <i>look back</i> |
| t ^y eyantak | <i>listen</i> |

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| peřppeřp | <i>be frightened</i> |
| wirwir | <i>leak/bleed</i> |
| welkun ^y | <i>swing (intr)</i> |
| wumukut | <i>blame</i> |
| wuyurwuyur | <i>peep</i> |
| wuruwat | <i>wave</i> |
| ŋalamuřk | <i>swear</i> |

The following eight verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 5:

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| awařa (pl.subj) | <i>cry</i> |
| kunuŋ | <i> dwell</i> |
| targalkatarŋalk | <i>bump into someone</i> |
| telpat | <i>keep someone company</i> |
| t ^y umpuřkupuk | <i>dive making a splash</i> |
| wema | <i>scream</i> |
| titmiřit | <i>tease</i> |
| kupuk | <i>dive</i> |

One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3 and 5:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| pön ^y | <i>pregnant</i> |
|------------------|-----------------|

Three are unable to select for Conjugation 4:

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| lerp | <i>meet (pl.subj)</i> |
| payt ^y etpi | <i>sneak up on</i> |
| wilpay | <i>cross over (i.e. to other side)</i> |

Five verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 6:

| | |
|------------|---|
| puř | <i>snore</i> |
| tatyur | <i>sleep fitfully (lit. see and lie down)</i> |
| telpönök | <i>walk</i> |
| turutturut | <i>dream</i> |
| piyip | <i>be sick</i> |

The following seventeen verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 5:

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| wakulpat | <i>load objects into boat</i> |
| kömpörwatpir | <i>have a cold</i> |
| luppi | <i>go together: 'be friends'</i> |
| nat ^y nat ^y | <i>hide (intr)</i> |
| ɲuy | <i>enter</i> |
| perk | <i>crawl (predicated of a snake)</i> |
| pur | <i>alight (of a bird)</i> |
| talptalp | <i>run along playing</i> |
| tiramt ^y et | <i>stand on top of bank</i> |
| mitt ^y εfat | <i>paint (ceremonially)</i> |
| t ^y erk | <i>snap (of wood)</i> |
| wel | <i>hang up (intr)</i> |
| t ^y intart ^y intar | <i>spill</i> |
| t ^y εfatwaŋa (pl.S) | <i>stand in one line</i> |
| t ^y et/t ^y εfat (pl.S) | <i>be born</i> |
| kaŋka | <i>punt</i> |
| puŋat | <i>jump</i> |

The following three verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 5 and 6:

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| leŋpt ^y et | <i>move around in grass</i> |
| tuk | <i>take someone else's part (in a quarrel)</i> |
| pöŋköl turppak | <i>kneel down</i> |

The following verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3 and 6:

| | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| pöŋköl tartar | <i>cross legs</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|

The following verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 6:

| | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| kaŋnilyur | <i>break skin (against an object)</i> |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|

The following twenty-three verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 4, 5 and 6:

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| altiritpi | <i>go past</i> |
| kat ^y yipi | <i>leave behind (tr)</i> |
| pi | <i>go</i> |

| | |
|---|--|
| ka | <i>come</i> |
| t ^y akat | <i>run</i> |
| arit ^y ukt ^y uk | <i>talk too much</i> |
| papyiwařa | <i>run away (predicated of a large number)</i> |
| t ^y akatyiwaya | <i>run away (predicated of an individual)</i> |
| pařatt ^y akat | <i>get up quickly</i> |
| pur | <i>warm up (of food, meat, etc.)</i> |
| puřu | <i>crawl</i> |
| tapat | <i>walk slowly</i> |
| tapall | <i>have something for a long time/be married</i> |
| tiktatway | <i>come back to life (myth)</i> |
| tikka | <i>return</i> |
| tur | <i>big wave comes</i> |
| tapalikat ^y ur | <i>1. buck (of a horse); 2. pitch (of a canoe)</i> |
| wapi | <i>take</i> |
| numuřu m rkwaya | <i>commit adultery</i> |
| t ^y aŋar parkat ^y | <i>throw spear in wrong direction</i> |
| tat ^y wer | <i>splash</i> |
| wönatt ^y etway | <i>worry</i> |
| t ^y uřpi | <i>sink</i> |

Six verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 or 5:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| pitin ^y t ^y et | <i>dislike</i> |
| wuřma | <i>stand up</i> |
| pařat | <i>get up</i> |
| tamt ^y ett ^y et | <i>stick to/catch onto (predicated of a spark)</i> |
| tařpt ^y et | <i>stand on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)</i> |
| puřuŋpuřuŋ | <i>boil</i> |

Four verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 2, 3, 4 or 6:

| | |
|---------|--|
| tařpyur | <i>lie on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)</i> |
|---------|--|

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| naŋkyur | <i>twist (of a limb)</i> |
| t ^y alkyur | <i>bend over</i> |
| yur | <i>lie down</i> |

4.1.8. The Noun Phrase

The MalakMalak Noun Phrase consists of a noun or pronoun head, or both, and an optional adjectival. An adjectival is a word or group of words qualifying a noun or pronoun which typically precede it.¹¹

An adjectival can be realized in the NP as (1) a quantifier (see 2.1.2.1.); (2) a demonstrative adjective; (3) a possessive adjective; (4) a deictic specification; (5) a lexical adjective.

(2) The adjectival as demonstrative adjective:

504. yin^ya nan tat wöttömanö
 man A(dm) see 3plSP.1(purp).3sgmOP
They'll see this/that man.

505. alawar nan te lak wöwöntön
 woman A(dm) meat eat(meat) 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
This/that woman eats/ate the meat.

(3) The adjectival as possessive adjective:¹²

506. te ɲa t^yeyöt yinali
 meat lsgSP red kangaroo big(sgm)
My big red kangaroo.

In this, and similar cases, it is characteristically the noun-classifier that attracts the possessive adjective. Where there is no noun-classifier the possessive adjective immediately follows the noun it qualifies and immediately precedes an adjectival:

507. alalk ɲa ninmeyit^y
 child lsgSP little(plf)
My little girls.

(4) The adjectival as a deictic specification:

508. tönö [ɲun wöyö]
 jungle ss 3sgeSP.5(pres)
The jungle that lies over there.

509. yin^ya [ki yönö]
 man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres)
The man who is here/This man.

510. [stockman-man^y aɲuntuman^y] pakmaŋa wutta
 stockman.dpf ts.dpf sit.cnt.dc 3plSP.2(pres/past)
Stockman lived there afterwards.

(5) The adjectival as a lexical adjective.¹³ In certain circumstances, such as the following, the adjective may stand by itself in the NP:

511. yikpi lak atöma
 little(sgm) eat(meat) lsgSP.1(purp)
I'm going to eat a little (meat).

In this sentence the object-noun *meat* is semantically implicit. Firstly, *lak* is a verb root which explicitly means *eat meat* (as opposed to *ŋak* which means *eat non-meat food*), and is inherently transitive. Secondly, *yikpi* is *y*-concord (see 3.2.7.) which is the concord required for the qualification of, among other nominal fields, meat and animals. On these grounds, then, it is argued that a noun-object is implicit in the surface structure of the sentence.

One lexical adjective can be modified by another lexical adjective:

512. wikpi yinat ata
 little(sge) bad(sgm) lsgSP.2(pres/past)
I am/was a little unwell.

The speaker of this sentence would be male, as indicated by the *y*-concord (see 3.2.7.1.) of *yinat*. The adjective *wikpi*, the *w*-concord class denoting non-human referents, modifies the adjective *yinat*.

The noun, as a constituent of sentence structure, can have the function of subject or object and any of the affixal functions described in sections 3.2.8. to 3.3.6., such as agentive (see 3.3.4.) or locative (see 3.3.5.), for example:

Agentive:

513. nan^yilkwaŋ tat^y yimin^yŋayi
 hand.ag(inst) hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP
He hit(s) her with his hand.

Locative:

514. waliwaliyinŋa wilma yita
 river.loc swim.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is/was swimming in the river.

If the noun is qualified by an adjectival (other than an adjectival realized by a deictic specifier and auxiliary) then any adnominal affix

(with the exception of -məɪ-, see 3.3.3., and -malak, see 3.3.2.) is suffixed to the entire noun phrase:

- e.g. 515. wawöl^y wunaliyinŋa kapukkupuk yönpuŋ
 billabong big(sge).loc bathe 3sgmSP.2(purp)
 He is going to bathe in the big billabong.

The free subject pronoun shares the syntactic possibilities of the noun, within the noun phrase. It can stand as a constituent of sentence-structure:

516. yöntön karkatma yita
 3sgmSP *smile.cnt* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He is/was smiling.

It may be accompanied by another pronoun:

517. waŋari ŋa pi aŋkatuŋ
 2sgSP 1sgSP *go* 1dlSP.2(purp)
 You and I are going to go.

or it can co-occur with a noun or an adjectival, or both, within the same Noun Phrase and with the same referent:

518. alawar alalk yikpi yöntön muŋt^yak
 woman child little(sgm) 3sgmSP *kick*
 yitaŋayi
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP
 The little boy (he) kicks/kicked the woman.

The pronoun can be head of a noun phrase:

519. yeŋa munali nan muyuwa
 adv *big(sgv)* P(dm) 3sgvSP.6(past)
 At that time this was big (referring to an adjacent banyan).
520. yöntön yinali yita
 3sgmSP *big(sgm)* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 He is/was big.

4.1.9. Marking within the Noun Phrase

Word-order, except within the Verb Complex, is not fixed to Malak-Malak. Within the Verb Complex the verb root almost always precedes the auxiliary.¹⁴

The Verb Complex usually occurs sentence-finally. Noun Phrases usually occur pre-Verb Complex. When a NP occurs post-Verb Complex it is formally marked. The form of the sentence-final marking (sfm) is a

low open central unrounded vowel /a/ which is suffixed to a sentence final NP.

If the sentence-final NP ends in a consonant there are three morphophonemically-conditioned variant forms:

(1) If the final consonant is a liquid or a glide the sfm is the vowel /-a/.

521. tat^ypuk yinmaŋayi alawar-a
hit.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp).3sgfOP woman.sfm
He might hit the woman.

522. alalk yikpi tat yimin^ynö pululuy-a
child little see 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP rainbow.sfm
The little boy sees/saw the rainbow or The rainbow saw the little boy.

(2) If the final consonant is a stop the sfm has the syllabic structure CV, the C being a geminate of the word-final stop. The justification for the geminate interpretation is phonetic: notably, perceptible intervocalic devoicing. Intervocalic stops are normally voiced (see Phonology, section 1.1.6.).¹⁵

523. t^yewöryen atta t^yöŋnö waknö
ear.comit lexSP.2(pres/past) tree.rel water.rel
yin^yanö alalk yikpinö t^yewöryen atta
man.rel child little(sgm).rel ear.comit lexSP.2(pres/past)
ŋuluk-ka
language.sfm
We know the words for tree, for water, for man (and) for little boy.

524. 't^yen^yna' naman wöföntön alalk yinmeyit^y-t^ya
inj. speak 3plSP.1(sequ) child little(plm).sfm
'Thank-you', said the little boys.

(3) If the final consonant is a nasal the sfm has the syllabic structure CV, the C being a homorganic stop.¹⁶

525. t^yaŋar yaruwa t^yiyit^y wöwöntön yöntön-ta
spear woomera pick up 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 3sgmSP.sfm
He picks/picked up the spear and woomera.

526. ey yimin^ynö pirpenwaŋka
spear(VR) 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP shovel-spear.ag(inst).sfm
He spears/speared him with a shovel-nosed spear.

If the sentence-final NP ends in a vowel a bilabial semi-consonant is infixed between the word-final vowel and /-a/.

527. [te taratpararma yita [ɛy
meat look around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) spear
wöwöntön t^yɛyöt-ta] [waka
3sgmSP.1(sequ) red kangaroo.sfm bring
yitaŋayi] [yuryi yita]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP put down.leave 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[yur yöyö yin^ya-wa]
lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) man.sfm
The man looks around for meat, spears a red kangaroo, brings
(it) for her, puts (it) down (and) leaves (it) (and) lies
down.

N O T E S

1. 3.2.4.1.
2. If the Pronoun Object occurs as the benefactive object of a noun, the Pronoun Object occurs as a free form:
 te ařpuřu : meat for us (ic)
3. See 3.2.1.4. for an exception to this word-order rule.
4. Nouns are not usually marked for number. The only recorded exceptions to this statement is the partial reduplication which pluralizes
 pulit^Y : old man and *parmat^Y : old woman*
 pulit^Y > pupulit^Y
 pařmat^Y > papařmat^Y
5. With the exception of the twelve intransitive Verb Roots listed in note 2 of section 3.1.
6. *man stomach* requires w-concord (see 3.2.7.) when qualified by a concordal adjective or as referent of the third singular bound subject marker of the auxiliary. (*man* is one of the exceptions to the general rule that all body-parts take y-concord, see 3.2.7.).
7. See 3.2.1.4.
8. See 3.2.3.
9. Synonymous with this is *mařin^Y t^Yet yita*. See below for other instances of *t^Yet* in an inchoative function.

10. It's range includes: 1. *hunt someone/something away*. 2. *say 'no'*.
3. *leave for a while* e.g. *unpicked lily-roots*.

11. In the NP [wunpayin tekka] the head tek is marked for its untypical position (see 4.1.9.).

12. See 3.2.8., for a discussion of alienable and inalienable possession.

13. Cf. the discussion of lexical adjectives in section 3.2.7.

14. But see section 4.1.4.2., concerning the auxiliary and participial complementation.

15. Cf. the intervocalic devoicing in the auxiliary system (see 3.1.1.-3.1.6.): in the opposition between

ata [adʌ] lsgSP.2(pres/past)

and atta [atʌ] lexSP.2(past/past)

the gemination of the medial stop is morphologically supported by the forms of the person- and tense-markers, respectively (see 3.1.8.10.).

16. The occurrence of a homorganic stop preceding /-a/, rather than a geminate nasal, averts the ambiguity that would arise in the case of a geminate apico-alveolar nasal or dorso-velar nasal preceding /-a/, since -na and -ŋa are locative and deictic suffixes respectively (see 3.3.5.; 3.1.9.4.).

TEXT 1

[ŋa mint^Yitak ŋuluk lamlamma ata]
¹lsgSP emphP language talk.cnt lsgSP.2(pres/past)

[pi atawörö waʃiyat [anti lamlamma
²go lsgSP.2(pres/past).3plOP VRcpt(meat) ³adv(recip) talk.cnt

atta ŋuluk yawötta] [wöřöntönman^Y naman
lexSP.2(pres/past) language lexSP.sfm ⁴3plSP.dpf speak

wöröntön] [ŋaman^Y naman awöntönwöřö] [tek yawuk
3plSP.1(sequ) ⁵lsgSP.dpf speak lsgSP.1(sequ).3plOP ⁶camp A(other)

pi atta wunpayin tekka] [paypi
go lexSP.2(pres/past) good(sge) camp.sfm ⁷emerge.go

attawöřö] [pak attö] [tek wunpayin
lexSP.2(pres/past).3plOP ⁸sit lexSP.4(pres) ⁹camp good(sge)

wöyö] [ayö tekat^Y] [puwaryinŋa tikka
3sgeSP.5(pres) ¹⁰lsgSP.5(pres) dawn ¹¹ts(morning) back.come

atta] [wöřöntön wöttö] [anin^Y ka
lexSP.2(pres/past) ¹²3plSP 3plSP.4(pres) ¹³adv come

wutta waʃiyat wötyaʃin^Y] [pi! tenö
3plSP.2(pres/past) meet 3plSP.6(pres).lsgOP ¹⁴VRimp meat.int

pi aŋkatuŋ] [t^Yeyöt waŋkit^Y ařöntön ey]
go 1dlSP.2(purp) ¹⁵red kangaroo hunt out lexSP.1(sequ) VRcpt(spear)

[tikpi atta] [kölp^Yet aröntön tekna]
¹⁶back.go lexSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁷roast lexSP.1(sequ) camp.loc

[yawuk t^Yet wa wöwöntön] [yawuk t^Yet
¹⁸P(another) leg pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) ¹⁹P(another) leg

wa wöwöntön] [yawuk puntu wa wöwöntön]
pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) ²⁰P(another) head pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)

[yawuk payak wa wöwöntön] [yawuk wömö
²¹P(another) back pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) ²²P(another) tail
 wa wöwöntön] [yawuk wuru wuru yawuk
 pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) ²³P(another) arm arm P(another)
 wa wöwöntön] [wi akana] [lakma
 pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) ²⁴fight A(neg) ²⁵rs(eat meat).cnt
 nat^{y1} pak attö] [tek yawukman^y tenö ka
 ptcl(emph) sit lexSP.4(pres) ²⁶camp A(other).dpf meat.int come
 yita t^yeyikka] [aŋ ařöntönnö]
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) scrounger.sfm ²⁷give lexSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP
 [lak wöwöntön] [nat^y pak attö] [katma
²⁸eat(meat) 3sgSP.1(sequ) ²⁹ptcl(emph) sit lexSP.4(pres) ³⁰laugh.cnt
 attö] [akana wi] [alawar nat^y nönö]
 lexSP.4(pres) ³¹A(neg) fight ³²woman ptcl(emph) 3sgfSP.4(pres)
 [alalk yinmeyit^y anta wöttö] [akana winö]
³³child little(plm) adv(allright) 3plSP.4(pres) ³⁴A(neg) water.int
 [wak pi wutta] [alawar pin^y wöröntön]
³⁵water go 3plSP.3(pres/past) ³⁶woman get water 3plSP.1(sequ)
 [ka wutta t^yöŋ t^yakt^yet] [wak nōyat
³⁷come 3plSP.2(pres/past) wood/fire VRcpt(prepare) ³⁸water cook
 wöröntön] [puřunpuřun wöyö] [yin^ya wapi
 3plSP.1(sequ) ³⁹boil 3sgSP.6(pres) ⁴⁰man take
 nunta] [aŋ wöwöntönnö meltaali]
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ⁴¹give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP propr.seize.ptcpl
 [tuřk wöwöntön] [akana wi] [nuřa
⁴²drink 3sgmSP.1(sequ) ⁴³A(neg) fight ⁴⁴P(dm)other(pl)
 wöttö pin^y wapi aŋ wöwöntönwöřö] [tuřk
 3plSP.4(pres) get water take give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3plOP ⁴⁵drink
 wöřöntön] [yur ařö tek^y] [purwaryinŋa
 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁴⁶lie down lexSP.5(pres) dawn ⁴⁷ts(morning)
 alawar minö pi nunta] [yin^ya attö]
 woman food(veg).int go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ⁴⁸man lexSP.4(pres)
 [mi titit tat^yma nunta] [ka
⁴⁹clf 'cheeky' yam strike.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ⁵⁰come
 nunta kölp wöwöntön] [yin^ya anin^y paröt
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) roast 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ⁵¹man adv sit up

pak yönö] [nak wöwöntön] [alawar anin^y
 sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) ⁵²eat(non-meat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) ⁵³woman adv
 mi watiyaṅ nuntawöřö [mut^yuřwuna
 food(veg) distribute 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3plOP ⁵⁴qf
 nak wöřöntön alalk yinmeyit^y alawar yin^ya
 eat(non-meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁵⁵child little(plm) woman man
 nuřa nak wöřöntön] [pupilit^{y2} papařmat^y
 A(other pl) eat(non-meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁵⁶old man old woman
 nak wöřöntön] [yur ařö tekāt^y]
 eat(non-meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁵⁷lie down lexSP.5(pres) dawn
 [wi akana] [nat^y paröt wařa atta
⁵⁸fight A(neg) ⁵⁹ptcl(emph) sit up walk around lexSP.2(pres/past)
 nuřnutman^yt^ya] [te pi atta watwatma
 sleep.dpf.sfm ⁶⁰meat go lexSP.2(pres/past) VR cpt(fish.cnt)
 te wunö] [weřina t^yiyit^y] [nat^y mut^yuřwuna
 clf barramundi.int ⁶¹two rs(catch pl0) ⁶²ptcl(emph) qf
 lak] [akana mint^yitak lakmanö] [teman^y
 eat(meat) ⁶³adv(neg) emph P rs(eat(meat).cnt.int) ⁶⁴meat.dpf
 pi yita] [tikalma yöyö] [anti
 go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁶⁵lie down.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres) ⁶⁶adv(recip)
 yeřa yawuk pi yita] [pi yita
 adv P(another) go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁶⁷go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 tenö] [kulpak yönö] [pi yita]
 meat.int ⁶⁸board(boat) 3sgmSP.4(pres) ⁶⁹go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 [watwatma yita] [te t^yiyit^y wöwöntön]
⁷⁰fish.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁷¹meat catch(pl0) 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
 [tikka yita] [t^yiyaṅ wöwöntön] [alawar
⁷²return 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁷³give(pl0) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) ⁷⁴woman
 pařat nöntyö] [t^yöṅ leřp wöwöntön]
 get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) ⁷⁵wood gather firewood 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
 [ka nunta t^yöṅ t^yakt^yet] pirpiyet
⁷⁶come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire/wood VRcpt(prepare) ⁷⁷ignite
 wöwöntön] [te ṇöyat wöwöntön yin^yanö] [ṇöyat
 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ⁷⁸meat cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) man.bf ⁷⁹cook
 wapi nunta [aṅ wöwöntönnö] [pařöt
 take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ⁸⁰give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP ⁸¹(sit up

pak lak wöwöntön] [alalk yikpi kay
 sit) eat(meat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) ⁸²child little(sgm) call
 yöyöwöŋö] [ka wutta] [alalk yinmeyit^y
 3sgmSP.6(pres).3plOP ⁸³come 3plSP.2(pres/past) ⁸⁴child little(plm)
 lak wöwöntön] [nat^y lakma
 eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁸⁵ptcl(emph) eat(meat).cnt
 wutta alalk yinmeyit^yt^ya] [nat^y
 3plSP.2(pres/past) child little(plm).sfm ⁸⁶ptcl(emph)
 katpararma wutta alalk yinmeyit^yt^ya] [alawar
 play around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) child little(plm).sfm ⁸⁷woman
 nönö tikalma nönyö] [yin^ya nat^y
 3sgfSP.4(pres) lie down.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres) ⁸⁸man ptcl(emph)
 paröt pak yönö] [nat^y tek yawukan paŋat
 sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) ⁸⁹ptcl(emph) camp A(other).loc get up
 yipi yita] [pi yita tek yawuk
 leave 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁹⁰go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp A(other)
 lamlammanö] [tik ki yita [alawaryingana
 VRcpt(talk.cnt.int) ⁹¹back ss 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁹²woman.loc.loc
 pak yönö] [wi akana] [alawarman^y akana lam
 sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) ⁹³fight A(neg) ⁹⁴woman.dpf adv(neg) talk
 nuntanö] [alalk yikpi yöntön melpapu
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP ⁹⁵child little(sgm) 3sgmSP father
 maparapi yitanö] [wutta wöntöt
 follow.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP ⁹⁶3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm
 aŋawan tikka wutta wöntöt] [pak wöttö
 A(qf) back.come 3plSP.2(pres/past) (dlm) ⁹⁷sit 3plSP.4(pres)
 wöntöt melwiyiyinŋa alalk yikpi yin^ya yöntön]³ [anin^y
 dlm mother.loc child little(sgm) man 3sgmSP ⁹⁸adv
 yin^ya alawar pi wutta wöntöt] [alawar wapi
 man woman go 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm ⁹⁹woman take
 yita tek yawukan lamlammanö] [lamlamma
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp A(other).loc VRcpt(talk.cnt.int) ¹⁰⁰talk.cnt
 wutta wöntöt aŋawan] [tikka wutta
 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm A(qf) ¹⁰¹back.come 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 wöntöt] [tek yawuknö alawarwuna pi nunta
 dlm ¹⁰²ts(camp) A(other.int) woman.qf go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)

lamlamma tek yawukanta] [alawarwuna wuŋuwa
 VRcpt(talk.cnt) camp A(other).loc.sfm ¹⁰³woman.qf 3plSP.5(past)
 yin^Ya akana] [alawar yin^Ya yawöt akana pi atta
 man A(neg) ¹⁰⁴woman man lexSP adv(neg) go lexSP.2(pres/past)
 taŋ] [alawaryinŋa t^Yeyantak t^Yetalina akana]
 miɛ(intr) ¹⁰⁵woman.loc hear stand.ptcpl.loc adv(neg)
 [wöröntön ŋat^Y mint^Yitak wörö [yawöt pana
¹⁰⁶3plSP ptcl(emph) emphP 3plSP.5(pres) ¹⁰⁷lexSP (iter)
 yin^Yawuna attö] [alawar nan akana pi
 man.qf lexSP.4(pres) ¹⁰⁸woman A(dm) adv(neg) go
 nunta t^Yeyantakmanö] [tat^Ypuk yinmaŋayl
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(hear.cnt.int) ¹⁰⁹hit.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)
 alawara] [aka nanta] [attö aŋö [paröt
 woman.sfm ¹¹⁰inj P(dm).sfm ¹¹¹lexSP.4(pres) lexSP.5(pres) ¹¹²sit up
 waŋa atta] [te pi attuŋ naman
 walk around lexSP.2(pres/past) ¹¹³meat go lexSP.2(purp) say
 aŋöntön] [te pi atta te tiŋinnö]
 lexSP.1(sequ) ¹¹⁴meat go lexSP.2(pres/past) clf turtle.int
 [alawar yen wa wöwöntön] [kaŋma
¹¹⁵woman yamstick pick up 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹¹⁶prod(ground).cnt
 nunta] [kuley wöwöntön [tutt^Yet
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹¹⁷stab 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹¹⁸caus.stand
 wöwöntön] [peyikan wuŋk wöwöntön [alalk ŋunna
 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹¹⁹bag.loc put in 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹²⁰child ss.loc
 katpararma yita] [kuwpuk wutta
 play around 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹²¹dive(plS) 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 alawara] [yin^Ya yeŋa kark pi yita] [pak
 woman.sfm ¹²²man adv go up go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹²³sit
 naŋatna yönö] [tikalma yöyö]
 top of bank.loc 3sgmSP.4(pres) ¹²⁴lie down.cnt 3sgSP.5(pres)
 [alawarman^Y te tiŋin wama nunta] [kark
¹²⁵woman.dpf clf turtle pick up.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹²⁶go up
 nunta ŋunna] [te tiŋin pam wöwöntön]
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc ¹²⁷clf turtle put 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
 [pi nunta t^Yön t^Yen^Y] [t^Yön tapakma
¹²⁸go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire VRcpt(make) ¹²⁹wood break.cnt

- nunta] [ka nunta] [t^yöŋ t^yakt^yet
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹³⁰come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹³¹fire prepare
- nunta] [te ŋöyat wöwöntön] [yin^ya
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹³²meat cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹³³man
- tikalma yöyö] [akana ŋöyat yita]
lie down.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres) ¹³⁴adv.(neg) cook 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
- [alawar ŋöyat wöwöntön] [muta te aŋ
¹³⁵woman cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹³⁶ts meat give
- wöwöntönnö alawarwanka] [yin^ya aŋ
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP woman.ag.sfm ¹³⁷man give
- wöwöntönnö] [alalk yikpi aŋ wöwöntönnö]
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP ¹³⁸child little(sgm) give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP
- [melpapu melwiyi lak wöwöntön] [anin^y yin^ya alawar
¹³⁹father mother eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ¹⁴⁰adv man woman
- lak wöwöntön] [alalk yinmeyit^y lakma
eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ¹⁴¹child little(plm) eat(meat).cnt
- wöttö wiŋnak] [miŋi ŋun t^yet nöntyö] [pi
3plSP.4(pres) adv(trm) ¹⁴²sun ss stand 3sgfSP.6(pres) ¹⁴³go
- wutta tekanta] [tekan pi wutta
3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc.sfm ¹⁴⁴camp.loc go 3plSP.2(pres/past)
- ŋunna] [ŋat^y yin^ya yönö pawuŋkan] [alawar
ss.loc ¹⁴⁵ptcl(emph) an 3sgmSP.4(pres) floor.loc ¹⁴⁶woman
- paŋakpaŋakma nunta] [paŋakpaŋakma nunta]
make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁴⁷make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
- [paŋakpaŋakma nunta wiŋnak] [pak nönö
¹⁴⁸make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) adv(trm) ¹⁴⁹sit 3sgfSP.4(pres)
- anin^y] [yin^ya ŋat^y yönö perpak yönö]
adv ¹⁵⁰man ptcl(emph) 3sgmSP.4(pres) rest.sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
- [anin^y yita yur yöyö] [apap
¹⁵¹adv 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) ¹⁵²sick
- wöwöntön] [yawukman^y tek yawukman^y akana
3sgmSP.1(sequ) ¹⁵³A(other).dpf camp A(other).dpf adv(neg)
- kay] [akana tattat wuttanö]
rs(call out) ¹⁵⁴adv(neg) look for 3plSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
- [ŋat^y yur yöyö tekat^y] [puwaryinŋa
¹⁵⁵ptcl(emph) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) dawn ¹⁵⁶morning

paröt pak yönö] [karala yunpayin yita
 sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) ¹⁵⁷body/skin good 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 [lamlampararma yita] [katma yita]
¹⁵⁸talk.around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁵⁹laugh.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 [nañaña pi atun tek yawuk naman wöwöntön]
¹⁶⁰adv(desid) go 1sgSP.2(purp) camp A(other) say 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
 [mamakma yitawörö] [alawar ki nimpit]
¹⁶¹good-bye.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3p1OP ¹⁶²woman ss swag
 taparin^y wöwöntön] [kalyurpařat nöntyö]
 roll up 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹⁶³put on shoulder.get up 3sgfSP.6(pres)
 [yen pařakut lulup nönö alawara]
¹⁶⁴yamstick billy-can gather together 3sgfSP.6(pres) woman.sfm
 [yin^a yöntön t^yañar yaruwa t^yiyit^y wöwöntön te
¹⁶⁵man 3sgmSP spear woomera pick up(p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) meat
 eymanö] [pak wöttö wöntöt añařkna]
 VRcpt(spear.cnt.int) ¹⁶⁶sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm ss(halfway).loc
 [te taratpararma yita] [ey
¹⁶⁷meat look(p10).around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁶⁸spear
 wöwöntön t^yeyötta] [waka
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) red kangaroo.sfm ¹⁶⁹pick up.come
 yitañayi yuryi] [nat^y
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP lay down.leave ¹⁷⁰ptcl(emph)
 yita yur yöyö yin^aawa] [alawar
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) man.sfm ¹⁷¹woman
 pařat nöntyö] [tö t^yat wöwöntön ɲun] [walk
 get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) ¹⁷²hole dig 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ss ¹⁷³stone
 luluppamma nunta] [yin^a paröt sit
 gather together.put(p10) 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁷⁴man sit up sit
 yönö] [t^yet tapörök wöwöntön] [larap
 3sgmSP.4(pres) ¹⁷⁵leg (p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) ¹⁷⁶tie
 wöwöntön] [t^yöŋ t^yakt^yet nunta [t^yöŋ
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) ¹⁷⁷fire/wood prepare 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁷⁸wood
 pripiyet] [ɲeɲe wöyö [te t^yeyöt
 (ignite) ¹⁷⁹burn(intr) 3sgeSP.6(pres) ¹⁸⁰clf red kangaroo
 telkna wöwöntön] [wöntuřp wowonton] [alawar
 singe (fur off) 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹⁸¹de-gut 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹⁸²woman

tek tatma nönö] [alalk yikpi katpararma
 camp look.cnt 3sgfSP.4(pres) ¹⁸³child little(sgm) play.around.cnt
 yita] [yelik ñöyat wöwöntön] [yin^Ya
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁸⁴liver cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ¹⁸⁵man
 yipi yita pak] [t^Yön wiřk
 leave.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(sit) ¹⁸⁶fire finish
 wutakka] [yöntön pařatka yita]
 3sgeSP.2(pres/past).foc ¹⁸⁷3sgmSP get up.come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 [walk kararkwarat wöwöntön pamyi] [t^Yuřkwat
¹⁸⁸stone take out (p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) put(p10).leave ¹⁸⁹put inside
 wöwöntön manna] [walk wuřk wöwöntön
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stomach.loc ¹⁹⁰stone put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
 mantulmanan] [yawuk pön^Yan wuřk wöwöntön]
 heart.loc ¹⁹¹P(another) belly.loc put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
 [yawuk t^Yinpititan wuřk wöwöntön walkka]
¹⁹²P(another) anus.loc put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone.sfm
 [wayuryi wöwöntön kölp^Yet tönan] [alawar
¹⁹³pick up.lay.leave 3sgmSP.1(sequ) roast hole.loc ¹⁹⁴woman
 anti teyma nönö] [ařawan kuřput wöwöntön
 adv(recip) wait.cnt 3sgfSP.4(pres) ¹⁹⁵A(qf) cover 3plSP.1(sequ)
 wöntöt wiřnak] [alalk yikpi nan akana ka
 dlm adv ¹⁹⁶child little(sgm) A(dm) adv(neg) come
 yita] [walk leřp wamatelk yönpun
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁹⁷stone hot pick up.cnt.possib 3sgmSP.2(purp)
 alalk yikpiwa] [ñiřkpuk yinma] [yin^Ya
 child little(sgm).sfm ¹⁹⁸die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp) ¹⁹⁹man
 alawar wöřöntönwuna kuřput wöřöntön]
 woman 3plSP.qf cover 3plSP.1(sequ)

TEXT 1

₁[I speak the language myself] ₂[I go to meet them] and ₃[we speak
 our language to one another] ₄[They speak] and ₅[I speak to them]
₆[We go to another camp, a good camp] ₇[We arrive at their camp] and
₈[sit down] ₉[It is a good camp] ₁₀[I sleep till dawn] ₁₁[In the

morning we return] 12[They stay] 13[Then they come to meet me here⁴]
 14[Right' Let's go for meat] 15[We hunt out (and) spear a red
 kangaroo] and 16[we return] and 17[we roast it at the camp] 18[One
 gets a leg] 19[Another gets a leg] 20[Another gets the head] 21[Another
 gets the back] 22[Another gets the tail] 23[One (gets) one arm, another
 gets the other arm] 24[(There is) no quarrel] 25[We just eat (and)
 sit down] 26[A scrounger comes from another camp for meat] and 27[we
 give him (some)] 28[He eats] 29[We just sit down] and 30[laugh]
 31[(There is) no quarrel] 32[The woman sits down] 33[the little boys
 are sitting down allright] 34[(There is) no quarrel] 35[The women go]
 and 36[get water] 37[They come (and) prepare a fire] 38[They heat
 the water] and 39[it boils] 40[(The woman) takes (it)] and 41[gives
 it to (her) husband] 42[He drinks] 43[(There is) no quarrel] 44[She
 gets water, takes (it) and gives (it) to the other people sitting down]
 45[They drink] 46[We lie down till dawn] 47[In the morning the woman
 goes for (vegetable) food] 48[We men remain] 49[She is moving (about)
 digging up 'cheeky' yams] 50[She comes (and) roasts them] 51[Then
 (her husband) sits up] and 52[eats] 53[Then the woman distributes
 the food among them] and 54[everyone eats] 55[The little boys, the
 women (and) the other men eat] 56[The old men (and) the old women eat]
 57[We lie down till dawn] 58[(There is) no quarrel] 59[We just wake
 up (lit. sit up from sleep) (and) walk around] 60[We go for barramundi]
 and 61[catch two]

62[Everyone eats (lit. not for self to eat)] 64[(The one who) went
 63 for meat lies down] 66[Then, in turn, another goes] 67[He goes for
 meat] and 68[boards (a canoe)] 69[He goes fishing] 70[He catches
 two (fish)] 72[returns] and 73[distributes (them)] 74[The woman
 gets up] and 75[gathers firewood] 76[She comes (and) prepares a
 fire] and 77[ignites (it)] 78[She cooks the meat for the man] 79[She
 cooks (and) takes (it)] and 80[gives (it) to him] 81[He sits up (and)
 eats] 82[The little boy calls out to them] and 83[the little boys

come] and 84[eat (meat)] 85[The little boys are just eating (meat)]
 and 86[playing around] 87[This⁵ woman lies down] and 88[the man
 sits up (and) remains sitting] and 89[gets up to leave for another
 camp] 90[He goes to another camp to talk] 91[He returns] and 92[sits
 down beside the woman] 93[(There is no quarrel)] 94[The woman does not
 speak to him] 95[The little boy follows his father] 96[The two of them
 both come back together] 97[The little boy (and) his father both sit
 down beside the mother] 98[The man and woman go together] 99[He takes
 the woman (i.e., his wife) to another camp to talk] 100[They both talk
 together] and 101[return] 102[The next time only the woman (i.e., his
 wife) went to another camp to talk] 103[Only women were there;⁶ no men]
 104[We men do not mix with women] nor 105[do we listen standing beside
 the women] 106[They just keep to themselves] 107[So only we men are
 here] 108[That woman (i.e. his wife) does not go to listen] 109[He
 might hit her] 110[How about that!] 111[We sit down (and) lie down]
 112[(Then) we sit up (and) walk around] 113["We're going for meat,"
 we say] 114[We go for turtle] 115[The woman gets (her) yamstick]
 116[She goes along prodding the swamp (feeling for turtles)] 117[She
 stabs (one),] 118[retrieves (it)] and 119[puts (it) into a bag]
 120[That child plays around] 121[The women dive (into the water)]
 122[Then a man arrives] and 123[sits down at the top of the bank]
 and 124[lies down] 125[The woman is getting turtle] and 126[She
 goes up (the bank) over there] and 127[puts the turtles (down)]
 128[She goes (and) makes a fire] 129[She breaks wood] and 130[comes]
 and 131[prepares the fire] and 132[cooks the meat] 133[The man lies
 down] 134[He does not cook] 135[The woman cooks] 136[Later on she
 gives him meat] 137[She gives (some) to the man] 138[She gives some
 to the little boy] 139[The father (and) the mother eat] 140[Then the
 men (and) women eat] 141[The little boys eat (the meat) (and) that is
 all] 142[It is early evening (between five and six o'clock)] 143[They
 go the camp] 144[They go to that camp over there] 145[The man just

¹⁴⁶
sits down on the floor ¹⁴⁷*[The woman makes up one bed, then another,*
¹⁴⁸*then another, (and) that is all]* ¹⁴⁹*[Then she sits down]* ¹⁵⁰*[The man*
just sits and rests] ¹⁵¹*[Then he goes (and) lies down]* ¹⁵²*[He is sick]*
¹⁵³*[From camp to camp no one calls for (or) looks for him]* ¹⁵⁵*[He just*
¹⁵⁴*lies down till dawn]* ¹⁵⁶*[In the morning he sits up]* ¹⁵⁷*[He is happy]*
¹⁵⁸*[He walks around (and) talks]* and ¹⁵⁹*[laughs]* ¹⁶⁰*["I want to go*
to another camp," he says] and ¹⁶¹*[bids them good-bye]* ¹⁶²*[This*
woman rolls up his swag] ¹⁶³*[She puts (it) on her shoulder (and) stands*
up] ¹⁶⁴*[She collects together the yamstick and the billy]* ¹⁶⁵*[The man*
gets (his) spear (and) woomera in order to spear animals for meat]
¹⁶⁶*[They both sit down halfway (to the other camp)]* ¹⁶⁷*[He walks*
around looking for potential meat] and ¹⁶⁸*[spears a red kangaroo]*
¹⁶⁹*[The man brings (it) to her, lays (it) down (and) leaves (it)]* and
¹⁷⁰*[just goes to lie down]* ¹⁷¹*[The woman gets up]* and ¹⁷²*[digs a*
hole there] ¹⁷³*[She gathers the stones together in a heap]* ¹⁷⁴*[The*
man sits up] and ¹⁷⁵*[breaks the legs (of the kangaroo)]* and ¹⁷⁶*[ties*
them (together)] ¹⁷⁷*[She prepares a fire]* and ¹⁷⁸*[ignites (it)]*
¹⁷⁹*[It burns]* ¹⁸⁰*[She singes (the fur off) the kangaroo]* and
¹⁸¹*[takes the guts out]* ¹⁸²*[The woman is looking after⁷ the camp]*
¹⁸³*[The little boy plays round about]* ¹⁸⁴*[She cooks the liver]* and
¹⁸⁵*[the man goes away to sit down]* ¹⁸⁶*[The fire dies down]* ¹⁸⁷*[The*
man gets up (and) approaches] ¹⁸⁸*[He takes the stones (out of the hole)*
(and) leaves (them) in a heap] ¹⁸⁹*[He puts a stone inside the stomach]*
¹⁹⁰*[He puts a stone on the heart]* and ¹⁹¹*[another in the belly]* and
¹⁹²*[another in the kangaroo's anus]* ¹⁹³*[He picks (the kangaroo) up,*
lays (it) down and leaves it to roast in the hole] ¹⁹⁴*[The woman, for*
her part, is waiting] ¹⁹⁵*[Together they both cover (it) up (and) that's*
all] ¹⁹⁶*[That little boy does not approach]* ¹⁹⁷*[He might pick up the*
hot stone] and ¹⁹⁸*[he might die]* ¹⁹⁹*[Only the man (and) the woman*
cover (it) up]

TEXT 2

[te papalu waʔarat wutta tek
¹clf buffalo wander around(P1S) 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp
yawötyinṅana] [mi weni ṅakma wutta]
lexSP.loc.loc ²clf grass eat(non-meat).cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[put^yyenman^y ka wutta] [wi anti tat^y
³bush.comit.dpf come 3plSP.2(pres/past) ⁴fight adv(recip) hit
wutta] [wi anti tat^y wutta
3plSP.2(pres/past) ⁴fight adv(recip) hit 3plSP.2(pres/past)
papaluwa] [waya tarat^y wöřöntön [patuk t^yuřk
buffalo.sfm ⁵wire strike(pl0) 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁶paddock enter
wutta] [te papalu mut^yuřwuna pima wutta]
3plSP.2(pres/past) ⁷clf buffalo qf go.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[anin^y t^yuřk yita tömölyen papaluwa] [t^yuřk
⁸adv enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) testicles buffalo ⁹enter
yita yeřa nanta] [yeřa winö
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv P(dm).sfm ¹⁰adv fight.int
yita] [mat^yanwaṅ akana pi atta]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹¹foot.ag(inst) A(neg) go lexSP.2(pres/past)
[taraktawaṅ pi atta] [nan put^yyenman^y
¹²tractor.ag(inst) go lexSP.2(pres/past) ¹³P(dm) bush.comit.dpf
yita] [yeřa winö yita [ṅa
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁴adv fight.int 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁵lsgSP
Mitṅan mapara yimin^yyöřö [piyantukna
(narrator's wife) follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP ¹⁶ss.loc
yitawa] [waya larapma atta] [ki
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc ¹⁷wire tie.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁸ss

weya! papalu! papalu! naman nimin^Y] [nat^Y
 inj buffalo bullafo say 3sgfSP.1(punct) ¹⁹ptcl(emph)
 t^Yakatanki yuwu^{fa}] [pap pi atta] [paypi
 run.dc 3sgmSP.3(past) ²⁰rush go lexSP.2(pres/past) ²¹emerge.go
 atta patukman^Yt^Ya [papakrar atta
 lexSP.2(pres/past) paddock.dpf.sfm ²²rush.climb lexSP.2(pres/past)
 t^Yöŋ yeŋikyinnana [aŋu^ŋkna t^Yet yuyuwa [waya
 clf gum-tree.loc.loc ²³ss.loc stand 3sgmSP.6(past) ²⁴wire
 akana tayt^Yi^ŋ larap] [tikpi attakka gunna
 adv(neg) adv tie ²⁵back.go lexSP.2(pres/past).foc ss.loc
 antuk pa^ŋakut t^Yut] [mat^Yan wa^ŋatka
 house white man VRcpt(awaken(tr)) ²⁶foot walk.come
 atta kina [tat yimin^Yyöŋö [nat^Y
 lexSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc ²⁷see 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP ²⁸ptcl(emph)
 t^Yakat yitanki] [t^Yöŋ wikpiwaŋ ey
 run 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc ²⁹fire little(sge).ag(inst) shoot
 yimin^Y] [eyma yuwu^{fa}] [t^Yalk
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ³⁰shoot.cnt 3sgmSP.3(past) ³¹fall
 yita] [akana yikpi yita
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ³²adv(neg) little(sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
 yöntön newa] [yawuk pana piyantukna yuyuwa]
 3sgmSP big ³³P(another) adv(iter) ss.loc 3sgmSP.6(past)
 [pi atta gunna yurur] [tattat
³⁴go lexSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc VRcpt(lie down plS) ³⁵look.look
 tikka attakka] [walkyinnā yuyuwa
 back.come lexSP.2(pres/past).foc ³⁶hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past)
 naŋatna] [tat yimin^Yyöŋö] [nan t^Yakat
 top of bank.loc ³⁷see 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP ³⁸P(dm) run
 yitanki] [nat^Y yawöt nat^Y le^ŋi
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc ³⁹ptcl(emph) lexSP ptcl(emph) spread out(intr)
 atta] [ŋa t^Yöŋ karar ata] [aŋu^ŋkna
 lexSP.2(pres/past) ⁴⁰lsgSP tree climb lsgSP.2(pres/past) ⁴¹ss.loc
 t^Yet yuyuwa] [paypiman^Y ey yimin^Ynö]
 stand 3sgmSP.6(past) ⁴²emerge.go.dpf shoot 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
 [t^Yakattikpi yita] [mapara yimin^Ynö]
⁴³run.back.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ⁴⁴follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP

⁴⁵[ey yuyuwa] shoot 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP ⁴⁶[kay yuyuwa] call out 3sgmSP.6(past)
⁴⁷[nyuma wutta enter.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) one.neg buffalo.sfm ⁴⁸[nyuma enter.cnt
 wuřura] [tun^yukarkma pakma attawa]
 3plSP.3(past) ⁴⁹high place.arrive.cnt sit.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past).foc
⁵⁰[nyuma wuřura te papalu nanta] [waya tarat^y
 enter.cnt 3plSP.3(past) clf buffalo A(dm).sfm ⁵¹wire strike(pl0)
 wöřöntön] [nyu wutta puluki wiiyen te
 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁵²enter 3plSP.2(pres/past) bullock milk.comit clf
 tömölyen nanta] [wi akana wutta]
 testicles.comit A(dm).sfm ⁵³fight adv(neg) 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 [waya nan pi atta wöntöt larapmanö]
⁵⁴wire A(dm) go lexSP.2(pres/past) dlm VRcpt(tie.cnt.int)
 [maparama wutta] [tat wöřöntönyöřö] [yarwa
⁵⁵follow.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) ⁵⁶see 3plSP.1(sequ).lexOP ⁵⁷boss
 yawöt ka wöřöñun^y] [yawöt waya ki larapma
 lexSP come 3plSP.2(progr) ⁵⁸lexSP wire ss tie.cnt
 atta puntu yanañařa] [tikpi atta
 lexSP.2(pres/past) head ss ⁵⁹back.go lexSP.2(pres/past)
 tek] [tikka wuttanki minöna]
 camp ⁶⁰back.come 3plSP.2(pres/past).dc food(beg).int.loc
 [nakpararma wutta yawötyinğa] [tek
⁶¹eat(non-meat).around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) lexSP.loc ⁶²camp
 yawötyinğa pařak wöřöntön] [nyřnutyurur
 lexSP.loc make camp 3plSP.1(sequ) ⁶³sleep.lie down(pl0)
 wöřö puwara] [alint^yiř attawa te
 3plSP.5(pres) night.sfm ⁶⁴afraid lexSP.2(pres/past).foc clf
 papalu nanta put^yyenman^yt^ya] [waya altakmatelk]
 buffalo A(dm).sfm bush.comit.dpf.sfm ⁶⁵wire rs(break.cnt.possib)
 [puwaryinğa pi atta taratparar: akana]
⁶⁶ts(morning) go lexSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(look around) adv(neg)
 [antawuna wiřk waya] [anin^y tarat^y t^yuřkma
⁶⁷adv.qf finish wire ⁶⁸adv strike(pl0) enter.cnt
 yitawa] [waya tarat^yali wutta]
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc ⁶⁹wire strike.ptcpl 3plSP.2(pres/past)

[tʰɛnʸɛnʸma atta wirɲak] [tikpi
 70 *make(pl0).cnt* lexSP.2(pres/past) adv(trm) 71 *back.go*
 atta tʰöŋ wunali wa] [tarakta
 lexSP.2(pres/past) fire big(sge) VRcpt(*pick up*) 72 *tractor*
 tʰɛtyi] [matʰanwaŋ tikka atta] [te
 rs(*stand. leave*) 73 *foot.ag(inst)* back.come lexSP.2(pres/past) 74 *clf*
 papalu nan putʰyenmanʸ tikaľma yöyö] [apap
 buffalo A(dm) bush.comit.dpf lie down.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres) 75 *sick*
 wöwöntönmanʸ] [ki waya tʰuʳptʰuʳpali yita] [te
 3sgmSP.1(sequ).dpf 76 *ss wire* cut.cut.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 74 *clf*
 [tawut milkmilali tat yita parakutta]
 77 *blood leak.leak.ptcpl* see 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) white man.sfm
 [papalu yawuk tatpararma atia] [wayamanʸ
 78 *buffalo* A(*other*) see.around.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) 79 *wire.dpf*
 akana tʰuʳptʰuʳpali wutta antawuna wiʳk]
 adv(neg) cut.cut.ptcpl 3plSP.2(pres/past) adv.qf finish
 [antawuna wiʳk naman aʳontöna [tattatpi
 80 *adv.qf* finish say lexSP.1(sequ).foc 81 *look*
 attawa] [tikaľma yöyö] [tʰɛʳat
 lexSP.2(pres/past).foc 82 *lie down* 3sgmSP.5(pres) 83 *stand(plS)*
 atyuwa] [ŋatʰ ŋun tʰakat yuwuʳanki yeʳa
 lexSP.6(past) 84 *ptcl(emp)* P(dm) run 3sgmSP.3(past).dc adv
 winö] [tʰöŋ wikpimanʸ katʰ yitaŋa]
 fight.int 85 *fire* little(sge).dpf throw 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
 [aninʸ tiktʰakatpi yita] [yawöt akana maparapi
 86 *adv* back.run.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 87 *lexSP* adv(neg) follow.go
 yitayöʳö] [paʳakut yöntön mintʰitak eytapma
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).lexOP 88 *white man* 3sgmSP emph P spear.grab.cnt
 wöwöntönnö] [alintʰiʳ atta] [puluki
 3sgmSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP 89 *afraid* lexSP.2(pres/past) 90 *bullock*
 papalu anta wutta] [aninʸ yawukmanʸ tʰuʳk
 buffalo adv 3plSP.2(pres/past) 91 *adv* P(*another*).dpf enter
 yita yeʳa winö] [yawöt alintʰiʳ
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv fight.int 92 *lexSP* afraid
 atta] [papalu katukmanʸ ŋuypak wittiŋinʸ]
 lexSP.2(pres/past) 93 *buffalo* ss.dpf enter.sit 3plSP.4(progr)

[yawukman^Y yawukman^Y guy wutta]
⁹⁴P(another).dpf P(another).dpf enter 3plSP.2(pres/past)
 [yawötyingga nak wöföntön mi weniwa]
⁹⁵lexSP.loc eat(non-meat)dc 3plSP.1(sequ) clf grass.sfm
 [alint^Yiř attawa papaluwunawa] [wi anti
⁹⁶afraid lexSP.2(pres/past).foc buffalo.qf.sfm ⁹⁷fight adv(recip)
 tat^Yma wuttawa waŋkařna tekāt^Y]
 hit.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past).foc open(i.e. unfenced)space.loc dawn
 [akana antawan pi atta] [waŋařiman^Y tat
⁹⁸adv(neg) ss go lexSP.2(pres/past) ⁹⁹2sgSP.dpf see
 yinmanunu] [maparakat^Y yinmanunu] [alalk
 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP ¹⁰⁰chase 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP ¹⁰¹child
 yinmeyit^Y kiman tat yinmawöřö] [mapařakat^Y
 little(plm) ss.rbl see 3sgmSP.1(purp).3plOP ¹⁰²chase
 yinmawöřö te put^Yyenman^Yt^Ya] [yeřa t^Yakatyiwaya
 3sgmSP.1(purp).3plOP clf bush.comit.dpf.sfm ¹⁰³adv run.leave.go
 yita] [tönöna t^Yuřkyiwaya yita]
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁰⁴jungle.loc enter.leave.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

TEXT 2

¹[The buffalo wandered about up to our camp] and ²[ate grass] ³[They came from the bush] ⁴[The buffalo fought one another] ⁵[They broke the wire fence] and ⁶[entered the paddock] ⁷[A large number of buffalo went in] ⁸[Then a bull buffalo entered] ⁸[That one went in] ¹⁰[At that point he wanted a fight] ¹¹[We did not go by foot] ¹²[We went by tractor] ¹³[The one who had come from the bush] ¹⁴[wanted a fight at that moment] ¹⁵[He followed Mitigan (the narrator's wife) and me] and ¹⁶[went inside (the paddock)] ¹⁷[We fixed up the fence.]
¹⁸["Here! Come here! Come here! Buffalo! Buffalo!" she said]
¹⁹[He just kept on running towards me] ²⁰[We rushed off] and ²¹[disappeared from the paddock] ²²[We rushed up a gumtree] ²³[The buffalo was standing halfway (between the fence and the gumtree)] ²⁴[We had not fixed the wire properly] ²⁵[We went back to the house over there]

to wake the white fellow] 26[We came back here by foot] and 27[he
 (the buffalo) saw us] 28[He ran towards us] 29[(The white man) fired
 a .22] 30[He went on firing] 31[(The buffalo) fell] 32[He was not
 little: he was a big one] 33[Another one came⁸ into the paddock]
 34[We went over there to lie down] 35[We came back to look for (other
 buffalo)] 36[One was standing up on the top of the hill] and 37[was
 looking at us] 38[That one ran towards us] 39[We (the narrator and
 the white man) just spread out] 40[I climbed a tree] 41[He (the buf-
 falo) stopped halfway (between the hill and the tree).] 42[(The white
 man) emerged and shot him] 43[He (the white man) ran back] and
 44[followed him] and 45[shot him] 46[(The buffalo) cried out] 47[A
 large number of buffalo entered (the paddock)] 48[They kept coming in]
 49[We lived there for a year] and 50[the buffalo kept coming in] and
 51[broke the wire] 52[Those bullocks, cows and bulls came in] 53[They
 did not fight] 54[We both went to fix up that wire] 55[They followed]
 and 56[they saw us] 57["Our bosses are coming," (they thought)]
 58[We fixed this wire in one corner] and 59[went back to the camp]
 60[The (the buffalo) came back for food] 61[They wandered around beside
 us eating] 62[They settled down next to our camp] and 63[at night
 they lay down to sleep] 64[We were afraid of that one from the bush]
 65[He might break the wire] 66[In the morning we went to look around
 (and) there were none (i.e. buffalo)] 67[The wire fence was alright]
 68[Then he broke in] 69[They kept on breaking the wire fences] 70[We
 fixed them, and that was all] 71[We went back to get a shot-gun]
 72[We left the tractor standing] and 73[returned by foot] 74[That
 buffalo from the bush lay down] 75[He was sick] 76[He had been lac-
 erated by the wire] 77[The white man saw that he was bleeding] 78[He
 looked round from buffalo to buffalo] 79[They were alright, not lac-
 erated by the wire] 80["They are alright," we said] 81[We went to
 look] and 82[he lay down] 83[We stood up] and 84[that buffalo just
 kept on running towards us, with the intention of fighting right then]

85[(The white man) fired his 22 in that direction] 86[Then (the buffalo) ran back] 87[He did not follow us] 88[(The white man) himself shot him] 89[We were afraid] 90[But the bullocks (and) buffalo were allright] 91[Then another one entered (the paddock) wanting to fight right then] 92[We were afraid] 93[Those buffalo were coming in to stay] 94[One by one they came in] and 95[ate grass next to us] 96[We were afraid of all the buffalo] 97[They fought each other outside (the paddock) (till) dawn] 98[We did not go near] 99["If the wild buffalo sees you] 100[he will chase you] 101[just as he saw] and 102[chased these little boys."] 103[At that point (the wild buffalo) ran away] and 104[disappeared into the jungle]

TEXT 3

[wöřöntön papařmat^Y wařakwařakma wutta] [muyin^Y ğun
¹3plSP *old woman not know.cnt* 3plSP.2(pres/past) ²*dog* ss
wutta] [ġuluk lamma wiřin^Yt^Ya] [nan^Yilk
3plSP.2(pres/past) ³*language speak.cnt* 3plSP.2(subj) ⁴*hand*
larlarali wutta] [pit^Ytanma wöřöğün^Y]
swell.ptcpl 3plSP.2(pres/past) ⁵*rub firesticks.av.cnt* 3plSP.2(progr)
[ġat^Y yipi wöřöğün^Y t^Yöğnö] [aġuntu mi ġapma
⁶ptcl(emph) *leave* 3plSP.2(progr) *fire.int* ⁷ss *food(veg)* *raw*
ġaġak wiřmin^Y] [muyln^Y akana lamlam
eat(non-meat.pl0) 3plSP.1(punct) ⁸*dog* *adv(neg)* *talk*
wuttawa] [wöřöntön lamlamma wiřin^Yt^Ya yin^Yamanna]
3plSP.2(pres/past).foc ⁹3plSP *talk.cnt* 3plSP.2(subj) *man.rbl.sfm*
[mi titit ġapma ġaġak wiřmin^Y] [ġantilk
¹⁰clf *'cheeky' yam raw eat(non-meat.pl0)* 3plSP.1(punct) ¹¹*tongue*
larlarali wutta] [papařmat^Y ğun t^Yöğyen tikka
swell.ptcpl 3plSP.2(pres/past) ¹²*old woman* ss *fire.comit* *back.come*
wöřöğün^Y] [yeřa ġumpakali wittiġin^Y] [mi
3plSP.2(progr) ¹³adv *silent.sit.ptcpl* 3plSP.4(progr) ¹⁴clf
titit kölp wiřmin^Y] [t^Yöğ wukut^Yma
'cheeky' yam roast 3plSP.1(punct) ¹⁵*fire* *throw away.cnt*
wöřöğün^Y] [te t^Yöğarapaya ka yuġun^Y paltamyur
3plSP.2(progr) ¹⁶clf *chicken-hawk come* 3sgmSP.2(progr) VRcpt(*perch*)
t^Yöğ yeřikyınġa] [t^Yöğ kuřtöwerkat^Y nuġun^Yna
clf *white gum.loc* ¹⁷*fire* *shift.throw* 3sgfSP.2(progr).foc
pařmat^Yt^Ya] [t^Yalkyurka yita] [wapi
old woman.sfm ¹⁸*fall.lie down.come* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ¹⁹*pick up.go*

yita] ["tit-tit-tit-tit-tit"] [wapi
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) ²⁰(call of the chicken-hawk) ²¹pick up.go
 yita kan^yt^yukna] [ɛyik pakt^yalk
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) sky.loc ²²charcoal drop(intr)
 wuta] [tiktat yuwuʃa] [anakan ki walk
 3sgeSP.2(pres/past) ²³back.look 3sgmSP.2(past) ²⁴ts ss hill
 kan^yt^yuk katuruk⁹ wönö Telikannö
 sky high 3sgeSP.4(pres) Telikan.poss

TEXT 3

¹
²[Those old woman dogs did not know how to speak] ⁴[Their paws were
³swollen] ⁵[They had been rubbing firesticks unsuccessfully] and
⁶[were just leaving (to look) for fire] ⁷[Those left behind ate a lot
 of raw food] ⁸[The dogs did not talk] ⁹[They would have talked like
 men] but ¹⁰[They had eaten a lot of raw 'cheeky' yam] and ¹¹[(their)
 tongues were swollen] ¹²[Those old women (dogs) were returning with
 fire] ¹³[While (the yam-eaters) were sitting silently] ¹⁴[(the old
 woman dogs) roasted the 'cheeky' yams] and ¹⁵[threw away some fire]
¹⁶[A chicken-hawk was coming to perch in a white gum] ¹⁷[An old woman
 (dog) was flicking out (bits of) fire] so ¹⁸[he swooped down] and
¹⁹[took (some)] ²⁰[(crying) "tit-tit-tit-tit-tit"] ²¹[He took the
 charcoal (up) to the sky,] ²²[It dropped] and ²³[He kept on looking
 back] ²⁴[Today (this charcoal) is a high hill belonging to the Telikan¹⁰
 tribe]

N O T E S

1. The emphatic particle ηat^Y is translated here by the mildly emphatic *just* (as in *We went out and just enjoyed ourselves.*) However, ηat^Y cannot always be felicitously rendered by *just*. In such cases it is not translated; but the emphatic force remains implicit.
2. This word is a partial reduplication of $pulit^Y$: *old man*; the only other noun encountered so far that is pluralized by partial reduplication is $papa\check{r}mat^Y$: *old women* from $pa\check{r}mat^Y$: *old woman*.
3. Note that because yin^Ya is not a kinship term the Possessive Adjective follows, rather than precedes, the Noun that it qualifies.
4. The deictic function of Conjugation 6 (see 3.1.6.).
5. This exemplifies the deictic function of Conjugation 4 (see 3.1.4.).
6. The deictic function of Conjugation 5 (see 3.1.5.).
7. tat + Conjugation 4 : *look after*.
8. The deictic function of Conjugation 6 (see 3.1.7.).
9. See 2.1.4.2.
10. The tribal name of the MalakMalak.

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